STABILIZATION OF IDIOSYNCRATIC FIXED EXPRESSIONS IN THE WILD

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAIʻI AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

SECOND LANGUAGE STUDIES

MAY 2017

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Keywords: Stabilization, Formulaic, learning in the wild, textual object, conversation analysis, interactional competence

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This dissertation would have not been finished if I did not have support and guidance of my academic advisor, Professor Gabriele Kasper, and committee members, Professors Eric Hauser, Hanh Thi Nguyen, Mary Shin Kim, and Marta González-Lloret. Gabriele Kasper has been a master encourager and astute critic for my academic work during my entire graduate program. She showed me an example of being an excellent scholar as well as a kind person. I am truly blessed by having her as a mentor and advisor. I cannot thank her enough for what I have received from her. Eric's and Hanh's academic works have profoundly influenced my own work. I am thankful for their insightful and detailed comments on my dissertation. Dr. Mary Shin Kim's continuing encouragement provided me with moral support while writing my dissertation. I am thankful to Marta for being flexible to graciously join the committee just one month before the defense. I also would like to thank Dr. Schmidt who is no longer with us for his insightful feedback on my earlier work.

I also would like to extend my gratitude to Laraine Hong for her friendship as well as her patience, and valuable comments on many drafts of my academic work. I am also indebted to Dr. Bilmes for showing me a broad perspective on EM/CA work and Christina for teaching me how to appreciate research papers. I am also thankful for my participants, especially Minji who allowed me to be part of her life at the store for 30 months. My sincere thanks are due to the CADS group for their keen feedback on my analytic skills.

I send my special thanks to friends and colleagues in Hawai'i for lending me their ears and showing me their love and friendship. Mahalo nui loa to Rue, Hanbyul, Josephine, Minyoung, Jeongyeon, Hyunah, Eunseok, Hyunwoo, Matt, Kenny, Gavin, Leon, Shirley, Hiro,

Yuka, Elham, Parvaneh, Junichi, and Sena. I am also thankful for having Hyoungsik, Heejung, Jihyun, Mathew, and Subin for their friendship.

Special thanks go to my family and family-in-law for their love, trust, and support. Lastly, I send my deepest appreciation to my wife, Yeonju, for her unwavering love and support throughout the last seven years in Hawai'i.

ABSTRACT

Formulaic expressions (FEs) are considered integral to second-language (L2) competence, as they allow for: (1) socially shared resources to readily participate in everyday interaction; (2) a processing short-cut for fluent native-like performance; and (3) the seeds of L2 development. However, researchers using interlanguage (pragmatics) and dual-processing perspectives have argued that stabilized idiosyncratic FEs are evidence of rule-based productivity, thus challenging usage-based perspectives on FEs (Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer, 2016; Wray, 2002). While a few studies have documented the stabilization of idiosyncratic FEs from usage-based perspectives (Eskildsen, 2012; Hauser, 2013c), there is still a paucity of research focusing on the use of idiosyncratic FEs in the L2 lifeworld, despite being recognized as characteristic of naturalistic adult SLA.

Falling at the intersection of three research strands—the learning of formulaic language, stabilization of L2 competence, and L2 learning in the wild—this study aims to contribute to greater understanding of the stabilization of idiosyncratic FEs, using multimodal conversation analysis (Mortensen, 2012). Data for this study consist of 79 hours of video recordings capturing service encounters with customers over a 30-month period at a convenience store in Honolulu. The focal participant (Minji) is an adult Korean user of L2 English.

Focusing on one type of routine sequences in payment activities, the analysis delineates Minji's continuing use of idiosyncratic FEs in terms of their composition and sequential placements. The study examines how Minji and the customers co-construct the routine sequences with a focus on the customers' epistemic status and their orientations to textual material in the setting. By accounting for the structure of understanding in the routine sequences, this study

highlights the in-situ sense-making practices that Minji and the customers employ and their reflexive relationship with the stabilization of the idiosyncratic FEs. The analysis also focuses on repair activities arising in the informing sequences, looking at how the participants manage sources of trouble and their impact on L2 learning opportunities. The findings explain the stabilization of idiosyncratic FEs as embodied, sequential, and experiential phenomena occurring in an environment filled with meaningful materials and, further, are co-constructed in and through the participants' interactional competence.

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale

A recent resurgence of interest in formulaic language in second-language (L2) development has been reflected in newly published edited books (Cadierno & Eskildsen, 2015; N. C. Ellis, U. Römer, & M. M. O'Donnell, 2016; Ortega, Tyler, Park, & Uno, 2016) and in the 2013 establishment of a biannual conference (*Doing, Thinking, Learning*) dedicated to diverse usage-based perspectives on L2 use and development. Formulaic expressions (FEs) are seen as essential components of L2 competence for ready entry to communication (Bardovi-Harlig, 2012), for reducing processing load for nativelike fluency (Wray, 2002), or serving as stepping stones in the development of L2 competence (Eskildsen, 2015).

These different emphases on formulaic expressions (FEs) are largely based on their theoretical perspectives regarding linguistic knowledge. Guided by these theoretical perspectives, researchers have focused on two primary developmental research foci. Researchers from a usage-based perspective focus on the emergence of constructions by tracing the productive use of multi-word expressions (e.g., N. C. Ellis, 2002; Eskildsen, 2009; Eskildsen & Cadierno, 2007). In contrast, researchers in interlanguage pragmatics attempt to find the developmental trajectory of routine formulas (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig & Salsbury, 2004; Shively, 2011), and researchers in other various cognitive/psycholinguistic perspectives investigate the representation of knowledge of formulaic language in L2 users compared to that in L1 users (e.g., Conklin & Schmitt, 2008; Hasselgren, 1994; Nesselhauf, 2005; Wray, 2002).

Researchers working from the latter two perspectives have rejected the facilitative role of FEs in L2 development (Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer, 2016), reasoning that: (1) targetlike formulas are learned late (Bardovi-Harlig, 2006); (2) idiosyncratic formulas become frequently used by the L2 user (Schmitt, 2013); and (3) adult L2 users in naturalistic settings cannot easily learn formulaic expressions due to a disadvantageous age effect and a lack of corrective feedback (Wray, 2002).

The continuing use of *ungrammatical* or *unconventional* formulaic expressions over time can be understood as *stabilization* of L2 competence, defined as the temporary cessation of L2 development (Long, 2003). While such stabilized formulas are considered as core evidence for the argument against the facilitative role of FEs in L2 development (Bardovi-Harlig, 2006; Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer, 2016; Wray, 2002), only a few studies have partially examined the stabilization of idiosyncratic L2 FEs from usage-based perspectives (Eskildsen, 2012; Hauser, 2013c). Aside from these few, our understanding of the stabilization of idiosyncratic L2 FEs from a usage-based perspective remains under-developed.

Another impetus for this study is provided by the burgeoning CA-SLA research on learning in the wild (a.k.a. naturalistic SLA) (Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2015; Theodórsdóttir, 2011a, 2011b; Theodórsdóttir & Eskildsen, 2011; Wagner, 2010, 2015). While this research has begun to describe the L2 learning processes interwoven into the fabric of L2 user's everyday social activities, studies have mostly focused on how the participants spontaneously construct L2 learning spaces (Eskildsen & Theodórsdottir, 2016) or how L2 interactional competence develops over time (Y. Kim, 2016; Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2015). To my knowledge, only one conversation-analytic study has partially examined the stabilization of idiosyncratic L2 FEs in the context of a conversation-for-learning (Hauser, 2013c). Meanwhile, many naturalistic SLA

studies have attested to stabilized L2 competence as the hallmark of adult L2 learners (Lardiere, 2007; Perdue, 1993a, 1993b; Perdue & Klein, 1992; Schmidt, 1983; Schumann, 1978).

1.2 Objectives

In response to these gaps in the literature, this dissertation aims to contribute to SLA research at the intersection of the learning of formulaic language, stabilization of L2 competence, and L2 learning in the wild. This dissertation focuses on one routine though essential phase of service encounters at a convenience store, namely, payment activities. In this study I set out to delineate the focal participant's continuing use of idiosyncratic fixed expressions through two different media forms (i.e., speaking and using a textual object) used to produce coherent actions during the routine payment activities over the course of 30 months. The goal of this study is to explain the stabilization of idiosyncratic FEs as the sedimentation of situated achievements in understanding along with the outcomes of repair activities that participants routinely conduct through embodied sense-making practices. The analysis demonstrates Minji's and her customers' orientations to each other's practices during the routine sequences that involve Minji's use of idiosyncratic FEs, visual conduct, and a textual material by taking both a locally sequential perspective as well as a longitudinal perspective (Hauser, 2013b).

This study draws on multimodal conversation analysis (Deppermann, 2013; C. Goodwin, 2000; Mortensen, 2012; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) as the conceptual and analytic framework to investigate second language acquisition in the wild (i.e., CA-SLA following Kasper & Wagner, 2011). Data come from 79 hours of service encounters that were audio- and video-recorded at a local convenience store in Hawai'i over a 30-month period. The focal participant, Minji, is a Korean adult immigrant. A more detailed description of the data will be provided in Chapter 3.

1.3 Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter 2 provides the background for the study, which describes: (1) the social organization of the service encounter interaction (Section 2.1); (2) the concepts of formulaic language (Section 2.2); (3) approaches to idiosyncratic formulaic expressions (Section 2.3); (4) the stabilization of L2 competence (Section 2.4); and (5) naturalistic SLA and CA-SLA research on learning in the wild (Section 2.5). In Chapter 3, I outline the research design, the conceptual and analytic framework, data collection methods, and transcription procedures.

Analysis of the data is presented in Chapters 4 through 7. Chapter 4 discusses ethnographic data and presents details of the interactional practice under investigation that involves the use of idiosyncratic FEs and specifies the practice in terms of its composition and position in sequence and in relation to customers' epistemic status about the store's card-payment policy. The primary goal of the chapter is to demonstrate the stability over 30 months of Minji's interactional practice during the routine payment activities and how Minji's practice is sometimes treated as a trouble source by customers. Chapters 5 and 6 build upon Chapter 4 and focus on the successful cases of the informing sequences during payment activities. The chapters show how the customers' knowledge about card payment (Chapter 5) and the use of a textual object in the setting (Chapter 6) contribute to the achievement of understanding in the informing sequences, respectively. The analysis in the two chapters demonstrate how the repeated successful achievements of understanding in the informing sequences provide Minji with evidence that her practice is intelligible and recognizable, and thus socially shared. The analysis describes the structure of understanding in which the ratification of the intelligibility of the Minji's practice is constituted through the customers' relevant next actions. Zooming in on the

repair activities observed during the payment activities, Chapter 7 demonstrates how the trouble sources are indicated, analyzed, and resolved, demonstrating how the participants' local sense-making practices are consequential for the organization and outcomes of the repair activities, which in turn inhibit L2 learning opportunities. Chapter 8 summarizes the findings and discusses their implications.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter provides the background for the dissertation in five sections. In Section 2.1, I briefly sketch out the research on service encounters. In Sections 2.2 to 2.3, I review three prominent theoretical and methodological approaches to the learning of formulaic expressions. Section 2.4 summarizes the explanations of L2 stabilization in the literature. Lastly, Section 2.5 outlines naturalistic SLA research and CA-SLA's approach to L2 learning in the L2 users' life world.

2.1 Service Encounters

Service encounters can be described as institutional encounters between a service provider and a client in formal or non-formal settings (Aston, 1988b; Félix-Brasdefer, 2015; Goffman, 1963; Merritt, 1976). Guided by various theoretical perspectives such as Speech Act Theory, Systematic Functional Linguistics, or Interactional Sociolinguistics, studies examined a wide range of topics such as pragmatic variations (Placencia, 2005), politeness (Antonopoulou, 2001; Traverso, 2006), rapport management (McCarthy, 2000; Placencia, 2004; Ryoo, 2005), sequential organizations of service encounters (Nguyen, 2012), interculturality (Bailey, 1997; Ryoo, 2007) (for a comprehensive review, see Félix-Brasdefer, 2015) and found service encounters to consist of a continuum of transactional talk (or core business talk), a mixture of transactional and relational talk, relational talk, and phatic communication (Coupland, 2000; Holmes, 2000; McCarthy, 2000).

CA research approaches service encounters as one type of institutional talk that differs from ordinary talk in terms of: (1) participants' goal orientations tied to their institutional

identities; (2) constraints on allowable contributions to the business at hand; and (3) institutional context-specific inferential frameworks and procedures (Drew & Heritage, 1992).

Kidwell (2000) showed that the participants achieve understanding by drawing on their institutionally occasioned identities, responsibilities, and obligations which give rise to the context-specific inferential framework. The institutionality of service encounters is evident in the participants' orientations to the overall structural organizations (Robinson, 2012) containing "standard *components*" and "standard *order*" (Nguyen, 2012, p. 20). Kidwell (2000, p. 20-21) for example outlined the socially shared standard components and their order of service encounters: "(1) greetings; (2) request for service; (3) optional interrogative series; (4) provision, or not, of service; and (5) closing" (Brown, 2004; Lamoureux, 1988; Merritt, 1976; Traverso, 2001). However, as Nguyen (2012) showed, the overall structural organization of service encounters appears to vary depending on the institutional tasks and activities (e.g., doctor-patient consultations vs. pharmacist-patient consultations). In addition, each component consists of numerous subcomponents which appear to be under-specified in the existing literature (e.g., see the descriptions of patient consultations at a local pharmacy, Nguyen, p. 57).

Another key contribution of CA research is the demonstration of specific practices by which the participants construct service encounters. Kidwell (2000) showed three types of practices that participants accomplish in the openings of front desk service encounters at a university. Lee (2011) observed an airline service-call center in South Korea, describing how call takers reject customers' requests. CA researchers also began to examine embodied actions and objects used in service encounters. Based on video recordings, Mortensen and Hazel (2014) demonstrated how the mutual establishment of gaze initiates the opening of the service encounters at a help desk in an international university. Richardson and Stokoe (2014) showed

how objects figure into service encounters by providing details on how the cash till and the tables are constitutive of the service encounters in a bar in the UK.

While conversation analytic research suggest that service providers use an array of (embodied) practices in conducting service encounters (Haakana & Sorjonen, 2011; Leydon, Ekberg, & Drew, 2013; Raevaara, 2011; Richardson & Stokoe, 2014; Robinson, 1999; Vinkhuyzen & Szymanski, 2005), only a few studies have explored the development of those practices. To date, the most comprehensive study on the development of the interactional practices used in service encounters is found Nguyen's work (2008, 2011, 2012). However, her studies focused on a highly fluent "native-like" (Nguyen, 2003, p. 106) English user and a native English user. Only a few studies have examined L2 users; the paucity of these studies have focused on customers' communicative competence (Schmidt, 1983; Shively, 2011). Thus, there is still room for a more detailed examination of how L2 users' practices develop in and for various service encounters.

In this dissertation, I focus on one novice L2 English user who immigrated to Hawai'i relatively close to the start of the study and has been managing a convenience store. This study attempts to specify Minji's (i.e., the cashier's) practices used for payment activities, an essential component of the overall structural organization of service encounters at the convenience store.

As discussed earlier, service encounters consist of recurrent and stable overall structural organizations that are socially shared. It is thus not surprising that participants conduct service encounters using a great deal of formulaic and routine expressions (Anderson, 1988; Aston, 1988a; Kuiper & Flindall, 2000; Schmidt, 1983; Shively, 2011; Traverso, 2001). Research on this topic of formulaic language is reviewed in the following two sections.

2.2 Formulaic Language

There are more than 60 terms (e.g., chunks, collocations, idioms, fixed expressions) that are used to conceptualize some aspects of formulaicity in language in the literature (Wray, 2002). These numerous terms reflect varied research interests and theoretical perspectives on the use and learning of formulaic expressions in L2s as have been showcased in the 2012 special issue of *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* (Polio, 2012). In this section I briefly sketch out four major approaches to conceptualizing FEs.

A psycholinguistic-based approach understands FEs as "a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated—that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar" (Wray, 2002, p. 9). Examples include Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) who identified FEs based on four features of form: (1) the grammatical type of formulaic language (i.e., word or sentence level); (2) whether FL is canonical or not (grammatical or ungrammatical); (3) variability (i.e., whether morphosyntactically adjustable, e.g., as far as [I/we/you] know); (4) continuity (i.e., where discontinuous strings have slots into which a word or phrase can be inserted).

Corpus-based approaches aims to identity recurrent multi-word patterns, or lexical bundles (Biber, 2009). In addition to the form-based criteria, this approach adopts frequency-based criteria to extract instances of FEs from corpus data. Moon (1998) is a case in point. She set the significant threshold at 5 occurrences to extract several types of FEs and considered ones that occur 4 or fewer as random.

While these two approaches emphasize form-based and frequency-based criteria, diverse socially oriented approaches emphasize the tie between the use of FEs and "a more or less standardized communication situation" (Yorio, 1980, p. 434) and the embodiment of the social

contract in addition to recurrent forms (Bardovi-Harlig, 2012; Burdelski & Cook, 2012; Coulmas, 1981; Kanagy, 1999; Ohta, 1999). In these perspectives, researchers employ functional typologies that stress contexts or pragmatic functions in addition to structural features. For example, Coulmas (1981) proposed three situational subcategories for the use of routine formulas: interactional ritual (i.e., standardized ways of organizing interpersonal encounters for successful co-ordination of social intercourse); conventions (i.e., standardized solutions to co-ordination problems); and routines (i.e., kinds of automatic interactions where no creative interpretation is necessary between individuals). Other researchers focused on routines, defined as "a sequence of exchanges in which one speaker's utterance, accompanied by appropriate nonverbal behavior, calls forth one of a limited set of responses by one or more other participants" (Peters & Boggs, 1986, p. 81). Some of the classroom routines studied by Kanagy (1999) included *aisatsu* (greeting), *shusseki* (taking attendance), *jiko-Shookai* (personal introduction). Ohta (1999) examined an extended assessment activity and IRF sequence (i.e., initiation-response-follow up).

Finally, from a constructionist usage-based linguistics perspective, Eskildsen and Cadierno (2007) adopted a term multi-word expressions (MWEs), conceptualized as a "recurring sequence of words used together for a relatively coherent communicative purpose" (p. 6). Their study employed the form-, function-, and frequency-based criteria to identify MWEs (e.g., I don't know) based on longitudinal data and demonstrated the emergence of constructions over time using a type-toke ratio analysis.

Wray (2002) cautioned that frequency should not be the only criterion for the identification of FL because some FEs are not frequent (e.g., Long live the king). Also, she indicated, a typological approach based on form, meaning, or/and function cannot adequately

categorize FEs because formulaicity is multifaceted phenomena. For her, many taxonomies of FEs are contradictory within the study or between researchers. In this regard, she recommends that researchers identify FEs based on "a suite of features" (p. 43). Wray recommended researchers utilize multiple criteria to conceptualize FEs, yet these approaches still do not adequately capture the interactional work that FEs used in conversation. This is because actions that are undertaken through FEs are formed and recovered in specific sequential structures comprised of the immediately preceding or following action type (Kasper, 2006a; Schegloff, 1988, 2007).

This sequential view of meaning allows for a more rigorous approach to analyzing the import of FEs in context. Schegloff (1986) and Robinson (1999) exemplify how the import of routine FEs is dynamically recovered in sequence, demonstrating the analytic benefits of this sequential approach. Schegloff examined the formula "How are you?" in the opening sequences of phone conversations and illustrated the ways in which the call recipients respond to the greeting formula, compared to when the callers do not produce the greeting formula. Through this analysis, Schegloff demonstrated that the participants varyingly preempted the slot of the greeting sequence in the openings of phone conversations to initiate the reason for the call sequentially earlier. Robinson similarly focused on "How are you?" but in the openings of primary-care consultations. His study showed that when doctors say "How are you?" patients' responses vary depending on: (1) the sequential position of the formula; and (2) doctors' or patients' (embodied) readiness to talk about patients' health-related concerns. In other words, the formula "How are you" accomplished two different actions (i.e., routine greetings or solicitation of patients' concerns), evidence that the interactional work of the formula depends not only on

the composition of the FEs but also on its sequential positioning and the participants' (embodied) alignment.

Another important insight from Robinson's study was the essentialness of taking into account the participants' visible conduct—for example, nodding or reading medical records—in order to understand how FEs are understood in interaction. Robinson's insight is in line with Goodwin's (2011) analytic policy of human language that "the primary locus of the analysis of human language is not the private mental life of individual speakers, but instead a public, embodied interactive field that is sustained and constituted from moment to moment by the coordinated, differentiated work of structurally different kinds of actions" (p. 185).

In this dissertation, I thus conceptualize a fixed expression as (loosely) fixed turn-constructional units used in specific sequential positions by which participants recurrently produce a range of consistent actions. I also consider embodied actions coupled with fixed expressions as constitutive of the interactional import of the FEs because embodied actions are integral to meaning-making processes in interaction (C. Goodwin, 2007; Mondada, 2011).

2.3 Idiosyncratic Formulaic Expressions in L2 Use

At least two features appear to distinguish FEs in L2 use from those in L1 use. While L1 users frequently employ formulaic expressions (Erman & Warren, 2000; Foster, 2001; Peters, 1983), L2 users are reported to underuse FEs. But research showed that novice L2 users tend to overuse a small number of memorized chunks (Bahns, Burmeister, & Vogel, 1986; N. C. Ellis, 2012; Eskildsen, 2012; Hanania & Gradman, 1977; Hasselgren, 1994; Huebner, 1983; Kecskes, 2007; Sato, 1990; Schmitt, 2013; Shapira, 1978; Weinert, 1995; Wray, 2002). This is because, according to Wray, they have limited linguistic resources available for effective communication.

But as L2 users learn lexical and grammatical knowledge, she argued, they begin to underuse FEs.

The other distinct characteristic is the use of idiosyncratic FEs (Bahns et al., 1986; Bardovi-Harlig, 2002, 2012; Bardovi-Harlig & Salsbury, 2004; Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer, 2016; Kasper, 2006b; Kecskes, 2002, 2007; Mauranen, 2009; Nesselhauf, 2005; Pawley & Syder, 1983; Rehbein, 1987; Schmidt, 1983; Schmitt, 2013; Seidlhofer, 2009; Wray, 2002; Yorio, 1989). The use of ungrammatical or unconventional FEs is empirically common. For instance, based on her analysis of 2,082 English verb-noun combinations extracted from college students' non-academic essays, Nesselhaufer (2005) reported that one-third of the verb-noun combinations could be classified as unconventional (e.g., "solve a war" for "end a war," p. 72). Based on spoken and written data, Bardovi-Harlig (2006, p. 13) and Bardovi-Harlig and Stringer (2016, p. 8) provided several patterns of ungrammatical formulas, such as coinage (e.g., "pass" for "come on in"; "just look" for "I'm just looking" and "watch up" for "watch out"), undergeneralization ("sitting?" for "shall we sit down?" or "let's sit down"), overgeneralization (the use of "sure not a problem" as a response to offers such as "would you like some candy?"), and misuse (e.g., "excuse me" for "I am sorry"). Seidlhofer (2009) also illustrated unidiomatic FEs. Based on a one-million-word corpus of spoken English as a lingua franca (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English), she demonstrated creative FEs, including "well to my head" for "to my mind"; "in my head" for "in my mind"; and "on the base of my experience" for "in my experience" (p. 10).

While researchers attempted to examine uses of idiosyncratic FEs by L2 users their accounts appear to largely differ depending on how they conceptualize language competence. In

the following subsections, I briefly review three different theoretical approaches to idiosyncratic FEs in L2 use.

2.3.1 Interlanguage pragmatics perspectives

In view of routine formulas as a socially shared resource to readily participate in everyday interactions, acquisition of formulaic expressions is a central aspect of the development of communicative competence in an L2 (Bardovi-Harlig, 2006, 2012; Bardovi-Harlig, 1999; Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, & Thurrell, 1995; Kasper & Schmidt, 1996; Rehbein, 1987; Taguchi, 2012).

Bardovi-Harlig (1999, 2002) viewed the production of targetlike formulas by L2 users who exhibit non-targetlike grammatical competence as an instance of use of memorized chunks independent of the L2 users' grammatical competence. With this perspective, she distinguished between developmental formula (i.e., the use of targetlike formulas by L2 users beyond their existing level of grammatical competence) and target formula (i.e., idiosyncratic formulas). Focusing on the latter category of formulas in oral and written forms, Bardovi-Harlig (2006) and Bardovi-Harlig and Stringer (2016) pointed out that L2 users learn targetlike formulaic expressions at a later stage. Burdelski and Cook (2012) struck the same note from a language socialization perspective, saying, "formulaic language is an end of socialization in the sense that it is something novices have to learn to use in grammatically, pragmatically, and sequentially relevant ways" (p. 174).

Based on elicited data, Bardovi-Harlig and Stringer (2016) argued that increasing accuracy of the production of formulas is correlated with L2 users' increasing proficiency. The idiosyncratic forms of formulas (e.g., "I appreciate for you" in a thanking scenario or "I just look" or "I just looking" for *I'm just looking* in a service-encounter scenario) are considered as

evidence of rule-based productivity since they manifest L2 users' stabilized interlanguage grammar. As such, they denied the role of formulaic language in L2 syntactic development, albeit with some reservations and suggesting that developmental formulas containing advanced grammar can only be analyzed when L2 users' morphosyntactic competence allows such an analysis. This assertion is in line with Krashen and Scarcella's (1978) argument that FEs are a performance feature and thus are "fundamentally different from creative language" (p. 298).

The use of idiosyncratic FEs by L2 users may engender at least two practical problems that require empirical research. First, the use of socially unconventional or ungrammatical FEs may hinder, rather than promote, ready access to "routines and rituals" in everyday L2 life. Second, such idiosyncratic FL use may make the L2 user identity salient in the ongoing interaction (Wray, 2002). In other words, it remains a question whether or not the use of idiosyncratic FEs would become procedurally relevant to the ongoing interaction (Schegloff, 1991a).

Conversation analytic studies (Firth, 1996, 2009a; Kurhila, 2004, 2006; Wong, 2004) report that participants do not focalize idiosyncratic L2 use in L2 interaction occurring outside of the classroom unless mutual understanding becomes problematic (for discussion on an extended repair activity in relation to a pronunciation problem, see Egbert, Niebecker, & Rezzara, 2004). This is because the participants pursue the progress of the interactional business at hand (Heritage, 2007; Stivers & Robinson, 2006). In ELF research, Mauranen (2009, p. 227) also pointed out that L2 English users in ELF interaction (i.e., between L2 English users) have no difficulty understanding idiosyncratic FEs (e.g., "in my point of view" which appears to be the combination of two expressions *in my opinion* and *from my point of view*).

In contrast, as Wong preliminarily observed, L1 users may relax the preference for minimizing gaps when coordinating transfer of turns in L1-L2 conversations "in order to allow the SL-speaker more opportunity or time for getting it right, for working out grammatical and turn-constructional snafus" (p. 129). From a psycholinguistic perspective, Millar (2011)[1] also provided experimental evidence that native English speakers process unidiomatic bigram collocations more slowly than nativelike ones (e.g., cheap cost vs. low cost, volunteer people vs. volunteer worker) using a self-paced reading task.

Regarding the second point, CA research on English as a lingua franca (ELF) talk reported the ELF users' cooperative and mutually supportive interactional conduct in a range of institutional or everyday conversations (Firth, 1996, 2009a, 2009b). CA research on L2 interaction in the wild has also shown correction to occur only rarely. When it did occur, the L1 user (or more expert speakers) provided correction in such a way that the correction did not become the focal activity as evidenced by the practices of embedded and outright correction (Brouwer, Rasmussen, & Wagner, 2004; Kurhila, 2006). These studies confirm the operation of the preference for self-correction (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) outside of the classroom contexts.

In this dissertation, I focus on how the customers respond to Minji's continuing use of the idiosyncratic fixed expressions and analyze how their responses become consequential for the stabilization of Minji's practice.

2.3.2 Dual-processing perspectives

Pawley and Syder (1983) observed native English speakers do not produce many mid-clause hesitations nor reduce their articulation rate despite a memory-related processing

[1] The importance of the findings of this study, however, needs to be cautiously interpreted because the effect size is unreported (Norris, 2015).

constraint. This observation led them to argue for the important role of holistically stored sequences (i.e., lexicalized sentence stems) in fluent native-like performance. In this perspective, the process of language production is divided into two processes: idiom and open-choice principles (Sinclair, 1991). While acknowledging the Chomskyan perspective of language processing (i.e., the open-choice principle), this dual-processing system accepts the role of prefabricated phrases as important resources in producing creative meaning (i.e., the idiom principle). This perspective thus views lexicalized sentences and memorized strings as an integral part of L2 development.

In her extensive review, Wray (2002) argued that post-childhood and adult L2 users tend to use ungrammatical and unidiomatic FEs. According to her, such usage patterns of idiosyncratic FEs are due to the L2 users' interlanguage grammar affected by several factors such as age effects, individual differences, proficiency, and learning contexts. She pointed out disadvantageous effects on learning FEs with increasing age, as older L2 learners tend to adopt an analytic approach to learning L2s with their increasing intellectual ability and literacy skills based on their established L1s (Rehbein, 1987; Weinert, 1995). While acknowledging individual differences in terms of learning FEs based on previous work such as Hanania and Gradman (1977) who reported little use of FEs by an adult Arabic users of L2 English as opposed to Schmidt (1983) and Yorio (1989) who observed frequent use of FEs, Wray contended that L2 learners who are past childhood years learn L2s with "small units" (e.g., words) and "build up" their grammar (p. 206). In other words, post-childhood L2 learners are believed to process FEs by breaking them down to learn the "lexical constituents," while young learners acquire "whatever pieces of language are of use to them" (Bannard & Lieven, 2012, p. 4) rather than identifying individual words in the input. Adult L2 users may memorize useful creative

expressions and use them as fused FEs based on their interlanguage grammar which may contain errors (Bartning, Lundell, & Hancock, 2012; Peters, 1983; Schmidt & Frota, 1986). L2 users may not notice such errors in their use of FEs if they do not receive corrective feedback. Thus, Wray asserted that adult L2 users in a naturalistic setting tend not to improve accuracy in their use of FEs (see also Weinert, 1995; Wood, 2009). Based on these arguments built on the concept of the dual-processing system, Wray contended that learning FEs depends on the mastery of grammar and that FEs do not contribute to the mastery of grammatical forms for adult L2 users in a naturalistic setting.

2.3.3 Usage-based perspectives

While the work within the previous two perspectives on FEs presuppose a distinction between lexis and grammar, research taking usage-based perspectives rejects such a distinction (Goldberg, 1995; Tomasello, 2006). This view is based on the assumptions that linguistic knowledge is essentially parings of form and meaning with different specificity and complexity. Along these lines, Eskildsen (2009) suggested that formulaic language need not be conceptually distinguished from other linguistic knowledge, a view opposing the assumption that was based on the place and manner of cognitive storage for identifying formulas (Bardovi-Harlig, 2002, 2006; Wray, 2002). Alternatively, Eskildsen proposed that fixed expressions and constructions occupy two ends of a continuum of linguistic structures, ranging from formulas to the most novel expressions.

From this perspective, researchers have proposed a distinct developmental trajectory of L2 competence—"from formula, through low-scope pattern, to construction" (N. Ellis, 2002, p. 145). The constructionist usage-based linguistics (UBL) perspectives view FEs as the instrumental route to schematic emergence. Focusing on the role of formulaic language in L2

development, Eskildsen and Cadierno (2007) traced three types of negation patterns: "I don't know" (targetlike multi-word expression [MWE]); a *subject-no-verb* pattern (an idiosyncratic MWE, e.g., "I no remember"); and an *auxiliary-negation* pattern (targetlike pattern, e.g., "I don't think so"). Their findings show that the MWE, "I don't know," became an increasingly abstract pattern, while the non-targetlike pattern disappeared in the final year of the 4-year study. These findings led them to conclude that "the MWE forms the backbone of schematic development" (p. 12). In this line of research, studies have confirmed the developmental trajectories of constructions and evidenced that MWEs are fundamental to the emergence of schematization or pattern-based productivity, leading to the creation of grammatical categories and constructions (e.g., N. C. Ellis, U. Römer, & M. O'Donnell, 2016; Eskildsen, 2009, 2012, 2015; Eskildsen, Cadierno, & Li, 2015).

As reviewed in this section, studies from the interlanguage (pragmatics) perspective and dual-processing perspective emphasize the importance of FEs as part of the core L2 competence. Those studies argue that the use of idiosyncratic FEs by adult L2 users is the product of stabilized interlanguage grammar and FEs do not contribute to the development of L2 grammar (Bardovi-Harlig, 2006; Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer, 2016; Krashen & Scarcella, 1978, Wray, 2002). In contrast, studies from the constructionist UBL perspectives emphasize the important of MWEs as the seeds of L2 development. However, much less attention has been paid to studying idiosyncratic FEs. But in the few of the studies undertaken, researchers have only passingly remarked on idiosyncratic FEs. For example, N. C. Ellis and Ferreira–Junior (2009) acknowledged L2 users' target constructions composed of ungrammatical forms understood as Basic Variety (Perdue, 1993a, 1993b). Without taking accuracy into account, however, they attributed such phenomena to the complexity of the constructions. The paucity of scholarly

attention to idiosyncratic FEs in the wild necessitate more research. Thus, this study aims to fill this gap by examining in detail the use of idiosyncratic FEs in service encounters.

In the next section, I outline reasons currently offered to account for lack of L2 development.

2.4 Stabilization of L2 Competence

Research on fossilization has been concerned with the stabilization of L2 competence. In this section, I critically discuss how previous research explained the lack of development of L2 competence. I then review usage-based accounts of stabilization of L2 competence. Before discussing stabilization, however, I briefly consider the notion of fossilization.

2.4.1 Fossilization

The construct, fossilization, refers to "permanent local cessation of development" (Han & Odlin, 2006, p. 8) primarily in the areas of morphosyntax and phonology "in defiance of optimal learning conditions" (Han, 2004, p. 23). Although this term has been a popular descriptor of L2 users' competence in the SLA literature, there is surprisingly little evidence to support the construct (Long, 2003). Studies on fossilization have, instead, been the object of methodological, conceptual, and empirical criticisms (Bley-Vroman, 1983; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Larsen-Freeman, 2006; Long, 2003; May, 2013; Ortega, 2013, 2014).

Conceptually, Ortega (2014) has rejected the construct of fossilization on the basis that L2 use could affect L2 developmental trajectories from a usage-based linguistics perspective (see also Larsen-Freeman, 2006). Methodologically, according to Long (2003), fossilization research selects inappropriate participants. This is well represented in Han (2014), who considered Wes, a Japanese user of English as an L2 in Hawai'i (Schmidt, 1983), and Alberto, a Spanish-speaking immigrant worker in US (Schumann, 1978), as being paradigmatic examples of the fossilization

phenomenon. Schmidt and Schumann demonstrated their participants' limited L2 development of grammatical competence in their longitudinal studies. However, these adult L2 users did not enjoy the so-called optimal learning conditions that Han (2004) described—namely, abundant exposure to input, adequate motivation to learn, or abundant opportunities for communication.

2.4.2 Previous accounting for the stabilization of L2 competence

Several factors have been suggested to account for fossilization (for comprehensive reviews, see Han, 2004, 2013, 2014; Long, 2003) which are applicable to stabilization understood as a precursor to fossilization. These can be roughly represented as several hypotheses associated with input and attention factors (positive evidence, frequency, saliency, attention, and feedback), L1 transfer, and several socio-psychological factors.

For Long (2003), only the interplay between input sensitivity (also, Lardiere, 2007; Schmidt, 1983, 1990; Schmidt & Frota, 1986) and perceptual saliency of input can account for stabilization. MacWhinney (2006) hypothesized that frequency-driven entrenchment and L1 transfer cause stabilization, while the L2 user's social status and use of compensatory strategies are secondary factors in differential ultimate attainment. Han's (2013) proposal, which seems to combine those by Long and MacWhinney, suggested L1 markedness and L2 input robustness as the most important variables. In general, however, these hypotheses suffer from a lack of evidence (Long, 2003).

Research focusing of the development of L2 pragmatic competence also tends to explain stabilized pragmatic competence from the interlanguage perspective. For example, Taguchi, Li, and Xiao (2013) attributed idiosyncratic formulas to the L2 users' lack of sociolinguistic or pragmalingusitic knowledge resulting from a lack of target language input.

More socially oriented approaches have suggested a few poststructural or socio-psychological factors such as increasing social obligations with increasing age (Tarone, 2006), L2 users' lack of investment because of a perceived lack of necessity (Block, 2006), resistance to certain sociolinguistic norms in an attempt to create desired identities (Siegal, 1996) (Siegal, 1996), or limited access to opportunities for using the target language due to power relations between L1 and L2 users (Block, 2007; Norton, 2013).

These socially oriented studies have attempted to take into account the macro-social structures, social norms, social networks, and identities to demonstrate L2 learning outside of the classroom. However, these socially oriented approaches have several limitations. For example, these studies treat contexts, power relations, social norms, and identities as fixed categories or static relations, utilizing them as an analytic resource rather than an analytic topic (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Kasper, 2009). Kasper problematized such an analytic policy in applied linguistics that does not justify the relevancies and consequentiality of such concepts to the ongoing interaction (Schegloff, 1991b). Another major drawback of most of these studies is the lack of attention to the *actual* use of stabilized idiosyncratic L2 in context. The research on idiosyncratic L2 use could be significant because studies on socio-psychological factors do not necessarily inform our understanding of what stabilized L2 use accomplishes or the consequences of such idiosyncratic L2 use in interactions, which in turn may affect the learning of FEs. In this regard, our understanding of the link between stabilized L2 use and L2 development is largely undeveloped at the micro-interactional level.

2.4.3 Usage-based approaches to stabilization

Of relevance to this study are three usage-based approaches concerned with L2 stabilization in line with a dynamic view of language and L2 development as espoused by

Larsen-Freeman (2006) and Ortega (2014). The first usage-based perspective, Dynamic Systems Theory (DST), views stability as a result of self-organization, that is, an adaptive process for the perceived communicative needs within the constraints of the L2 user's cognitive resources (de Bot & Larsen-Freeman, 2011; Jessner, 2008). In this perspective, variability of a system is understood as a precursor of subsequent development whereas low variability is seen as the manifestation of stabilization, which means that the system settles at a certain developmental level. Verspoor, Lowie, and Van Dijk (2008) described the stabilization of L2 competence as based on the degree of varied word use (i.e., type-token ratio) and average sentence length, extracted from advanced English learners' academic essays produced over a 3-year period. The work from the DST perspective as seen in Verspoor et al. describes stabilization as an emergent phenomenon but does not pay attention to how situated, interactive language use produces such phenomenon in the first place.

The second approach is a constructionist UBL perspective. Failure to learn new constructions is understood as the phenomenon of entrenchment resulting from noisy input operationalized as, in Goldberg and Casenhiser (2008), the participants' exposure to the mixture of a novel construction and a familiar construction (transitive constructions) during a training procedure. As reviewed earlier, this perspective assumes that language consists of a network of form-meaning correspondences (i.e., constructions) and focuses on how constructions are learned and develop through generalization from item-specific utterances.

Eskildsen (2012) appears to be among the few studies that focused on the use of non-targetlike MWEs. In his study, he examined two Spanish users of L2 English by applying type-token frequency analysis and conversation analysis. Relevant to this dissertation is the frequent use of a non-targetlike MWE, "you no write," by Valerio (a Mexican Spanish-speaking

learner of L2 English). Valerio used "you no write" to correct his conversation partners for task-related purposes in class and continued using the expression for only those purposes during language learning tasks. Eskildsen speculated that the non-targetlike MWE could have been Valerio's only available resource for conducting the correction during the phase of task instructions, and the successful use of this particular non-targetlike MWE led him to continue to use the MWE more frequently, which consequently inhibited learning a more targetlike pattern. While stabilization was not the primary research focus in his study, he highlighted how communicative success can reinforce the stable use of non-targetlike MWE for the same communicative purpose in similar usage events over time.

The final usage-based approach is CA-SLA as exemplified in Hauser (2013c). Similar to Eskildsen (2012), Hauser's study examined the development of negation by focusing on one Japanese user of L2 English (Nori) in a series of arranged conversations to practice English over a 7-month period, demonstrating increasingly productive use of a formula, "I don't know." He also described Nori's continuing use of non-targetlike pre-verbal negation devices: *No(t)-X* and *X-No(t)*-patterns. Thus, his study showed the co-existence of developing and stabilized linguistic resources used for the production of negation in L2 English. Since his study primarily focused on the item-based productivity and how the use of "I don't know" contributed to the development of negation, his analysis of the pre-verbal negation devices remained descriptive.

Of interest to this dissertation is Hauser's conjecture on the reflexive relationship between a useful formula ("I don't know") and non-use of the potentially useful formula, "I can't speak English." He noted, "[p]erhaps the usefulness for Nori of the formula 'I don't know' limits the usefulness of an alternative formula such as 'I can't speak English'" (Supporting information,

p. 21). This account is somewhat similar to Eskildsen' accounts for the lack of more targetlike expressions that may perform the same communicative function of "you no write."

The latter two longitudinal studies from two different usage-based perspectives demonstrated the stability of the situated use of idiosyncratic FEs such as "you no write" (Eskildsen, 2012) and the pre-verbal negation patterns, *No(t)-X* and *X-No(t)* (Hauser, 2013c). These two studies conjectured that the non-development of more targetlike MWE or of a potential formula ("I can't speak") occur as a result of the interaction between competing linguistic resources that may perform the same communicative function. In this way, the two studies have not taken a sequential perspective when explaining the phenomenon of stabilization or non-development of more targetlike, or alternative, FEs, although they did offer details of the use of idiosyncratic FEs in interactions. These studies have also not analyzed the contributions of embodied actions and use of materials in the setting when accounting for the stabilization of the idiosyncratic FEs. This dissertation addresses these gaps in the literature by taking into account the embodied actions and the use of a textual material together with the use of idiosyncratic FEs in sequence in order to demonstrate how the participants' orientations to the practice affect the stability of the use of idiosyncratic FEs over time.

Finally, Markee's (2011) longitudinal study also hints at a conversation analytic approach to stabilization. He examined the interactional structure of oral *avoidance* as a contingent interactional behavior by focusing on how Huang Ling, a professor at a science university in China, does not use the word "prerequisites" in her presentation in an English course and during an office-hour interaction with her instructor. This is despite clearly knowing the meaning of the word as evidenced by her use of "prerequisites" on the presentation slide and in the self-evaluation in writing. Huang Ling accomplished avoiding using "prerequisites" by using a

similar word, "background," as well as the textual objects that contained the target word, "prerequisites" while she successfully established understanding in the presentation and the consultation during the office hour. Although Markee has not addressed issues of learning in his study, the participant can be seen foregoing opportunities to orally produce the word "prerequisite" over three weeks. She used the word "prerequisite" without actually speaking it and still conveyed its meaning by employing diverse semiotic resources. Such situated practice allowed her to avoid using the target word, which in turn contributed to continuing non-use of the oral production of "prerequisite" (cf. avoidance as the cause of fossilization, see Han, 2004, p. 34). In this respect, Markee's study illustrates how a certain interactional behavior like avoidance may inhibit a learning opportunity.

Naturalistic SLA research has also been concerned with stabilization of L2 competence. In the following section, I briefly review studies focusing on untutored adult L2 learners. I then review how CA research has approached L2 learning in the L2 user's life world.

2.5. Learning in the wild

While naturalistic SLA research has generally reported unsuccessful grammatical development or limited pragmatic development (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993, 1996; Block, 2007; Lardiere, 2007; Norton, 2013; Perdue, 1993b; Schmidt, 1983; Schumann, 1978; Shapira, 1978; Véronique, 2013), some studies have attested to formula-based L2 development (Bahns et al., 1986; Hakuta, 1974; Huebner, 1983; Schmidt, 1983; Schumann, 1978; Wong-Fillmore, 1976). For example, Schmidt and Frota (1986) observed, "formulaic expressions learned by R through interaction were made at least partially productive" (p. 285). This observation led them to speculate, "[a]n increase in idiomaticity, and particularly the use of idiomatic, prepackaged

strings, might be one of the expected benefits of learning a language through interaction with native speakers" (p. 288).

CA-SLA research on learning outside of the classroom conceptually and methodologically differs from naturalistic SLA. Wagner (2004) was certain that the real potential for socially oriented approaches to L2 learning such as CA-SLA, lies in the situated L2 real world, arguing that research on learning outside of the classroom may broaden our understanding of the phenomenon of SLA as in the same way Hutchins (1995, p. 135) examined cognition outside of the laboratory setting, or *in the wild*, to better understand situated cognition in the "life world". Following, Hutchins, Pallotti and Wagner (2011) referred to CA-SLA's research focus on naturalistic learning as L2 learning *in the wild.*

When conceptualizing L2 learning as an "outcome of language use" (i.e., a usage-based perspective) and "in situ sense-making" (an EM/CA perspective) (Wagner, 2015, p. 77), it is inevitable for researchers to focus on the actual businesses that the L2 user conducts in their life worlds and to examine the talk that L2 users are "going to have to do" (Wong & Olsher, 2000, p. 122) in order to understand "the dynamics of second language use in society and its impact on language learning" (Wagner, 2010, p. 51).

From a CA-SLA perspective, examining naturalistic L2 users based on production data elicited for research purposes limits access to in-situ L2 learning behaviors. Ellis and Ferreira-Junior (2009) who reanalyzed the ESF data (Perdue, 1993a, 1993b) from a constructionist usage-based linguistics perspective illustrates the argument. The ESF data are longitudinal, consisting of migrant workers' L2 production elicited by native speakers (NS) of English through several activities such as film retelling and conversations. Certainly, the data are spontaneous and authentic, thus being "real and consequential to the participants" in those

occasions (Kasper & Burch, 2016, p. 201). At the same time, it is important to note that occasions of such productions constitute their own social settings. Activities organized for generating data in the research settings differ from the participants' life worlds in their host countries (cf. Wagner, 1996). In fact, the research interactions in which the migrant workers participated dramatically differed from those of other migrant workers in their life word. Referring to this difference, Perdue and Klein, who led the ESF research projects, remarked, "part of our data […] is far removed from everyday contact, which may explain why some learners saw conversation as a *pedagogic opportunity* [emphasis added]" (Perdue, 1993b, p. 254). This observation shows that the migrant workers in the data treated the conversations with the researchers as learning opportunities.

Based on the discussion above, it is problematic to argue, as Ellis and Ferreira-Junior (2009) do, that the NS collaborators' language use represents the kind of naturalistic input to which the L2 users were *typically* exposed[2]. This is because the social activities in the research setting considerably differ from those of the migrant workers as Perdue and Klein observed. In fact, their findings suggest that the elicitation activities themselves constitute distinct usage events and learning opportunities as the L2 users' production mirrored the NS collaborators' input.

When focusing on learning in the wild, it is evident that learning L2s involves identity work and real-life consequences in an intricately intertwined manner, because language is shown to be a core resource for participating in social activities. In some situations, L2 users may not orient to their L2 user identity (or language expertise) but only make relevant their discourse or situated identity (Zimmerman, 1998). Firth (2009a) illustrated such a point. He observed, based on examination of business telephone conversations between Danish sales personnel and their

[2] Ellis and Ferreira-Junior (2009) acknowledge that such extrapolations are part of the limitations in their study.

international customers, that the L2 identity is not relevant to their business talk, treating L2 competence as a private matter. Kurhila (2005, 2006) showed that L1 users do not tend to orient to the grammatical accuracy of L2 talk as the foal activity during the practices of embedded correction and outright correction (see also, Brouwer, et al, 2004). In other cases, participants may orient to the L2 user identity rather than situated identities.

Wagner (2015) exemplified such a case by focusing on a Myanmar refugee (Arun), working as a stock clerk at a local supermarket. In a brief service encounter between Arun and an L2 Danish-speaking customer, the customer requested *laurbærblad* (bay leaves). As Arun initiated repair, the customer slowly enunciated *laurbærblad* (bay leaves), and by doing so treated Arun as a less competent L2 Danish user, which in turn threatened Arun's professional identity as a competent supermarket clerk. The highlight of Wagner's analytic demonstration is that Arun resisted the way in which his professional identity and linguistic competence were constructed by the well-meaning L2 Danish vocabulary lesson spontaneously offered by the customer. Based on this illustration, Wagner contended, "[l]anguage learning situations are not just there and unproblematic, but the newcomers are flexibly orienting to possibilities to create them or avoid them in the service of other issues at stake" (p. 85). Wagner's analytic demonstration clearly shows that L2 learning emerges as a social activity in the L2 life world.

CA-SLA argues that L2 learning depends on sense-making processes embedded in local contexts of social activities. Based on this view of L2 learning, CA-SLA research has demonstrated that L2 users actively construct L2 learning on their own initiative outside of classroom (Greer, 2016; Kasper & Burch, 2016). For example, Brouwer (2004) documented L2 Danish users spontaneously orienting to learning more targetlike features of Danish pronunciation, despite mutual understanding being established, by proposing an utterance as

troublesome, and sometimes with an alternative. Following, the interlocutor (usually L1 users) corrected it at the phonological level.

CA-SLA research has begun to identify interactional practices that L2 users employ to construct learning spaces in the wild, and has begun to demonstrate the developmental processes of L2 competence. However, CA-SLA research has not examined stabilization in L2 competence despite the literature on naturalistic adult SLA reporting it as one of the principal hallmarks of adult L2 users in the wild, with two exceptions being Eskildsen (2012) and Hauser (2013c).

In this chapter, I discussed how participants in service encounters orient to the institutionally specific interpretive framework evidenced by the consistent overall structural organization of service encounters and pointed out a lack of research on the development of situated practices used for service encounters. As FEs are important resources in service encounters, I have reviewed four ways to conceptualize FEs and discussed three prominent theoretical approaches to idiosyncratic FEs. In particular, I showed how CA's approach to FEs may broaden our understanding of the interactional import of FEs. I then discussed existing hypotheses and studies on L2 stabilization. I critically evaluated some of the major methodological problems in socio-psychological approaches including the lack of attention to the situated idiosyncratic L2 use. I also showed the usage-based studies accounting for the stabilization of idiosyncratic FEs as the interaction between competing linguistic resources, revealing the need for more usage-based studies on the stabilization of idiosyncratic FEs. Finally, I discussed recent CA-SLA research on learning in the wild, and indicated that this research neglected L2 stabilization, which has been shown to be representative of adult naturalistic SLA.

In this review, I briefly indicated how CA allows for useful conceptual and analytic benefits. In the following chapter, I discuss CA as a conceptual and analytic framework for this

dissertation. I also describe the data for this dissertation and present the methodology including the data collection and transcription procedures.

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND METHOD

In this chapter, I describe the research design, data, and conceptual and analytic framework for this dissertation.

3.1 Study design

This study employs a longitudinal CA-SLA research design. As Kasper and Wagner (2014) indicated, longitudinal CA-SLA research can be identified with the tradition of longitudinal case studies in naturalistic settings (e.g., Schmidt, 1983; Schumann, 1978) that aim "to capture change over time" and "to establish antecedent and consequent relations" by comparing L2 performance at repeated time intervals (Ortega & Iberri-Shea, 2005, p. 41).

Longitudinal CA-SLA research has distinct analytic benefits. First, the research design allows researchers to describe in detail the diversifying and increasingly socially recognizable interactional practices across time. Barraja-Rohan (2015), who focused on storytelling practices in a study abroad context, is a case in point (also, Ishida, 2011; Y. Kim, 2016). By tracing how Akiko, a Japanese college exchange student in Australia, conducted storytelling in interactions over a period of five months, Barraja-Rohan showed that Akiko increasingly used more complex interactional practices such as choral production, humorous story and direct reported speech. Secondly, it enables researchers to investigate how development emerges in and through interactions in a participant-relevant perspective (Y. A. Lee & Hellermann, 2014). Hauser (2013b) noted, "[a] major strength of using CA with longitudinal data is to take a locally sequential perspective" (p. 39). CA's emic approach to analysis could demonstrate participants' orientations to the local efforts aimed at accomplishing understanding, and this, in turn, may document how a

new resource for producing a socially intelligible practice is incorporated. Wootton's (1997) study elucidated how the local understandings of the preceding sequence motivated a very young child to diversify her request formats. Finally, CA's rigorous analytic policies for comparative analysis provides unique analytic benefits for longitudinal research, because CA's policies require researchers to determine whether changes in individuals' practices are due to those individuals' development or to changes in the local context (Kasper, 2009; Pekarek Doehler, 2010).

Lee and Hellermann (2014) astutely distinguish longitudinal CA-SLA research from traditional SLA research in two respects. First, while classical SLA studies treat changes in L2 use as the outcome of learning, CA-SLA studies consider the changes themselves as the object of analytic specification. Secondly, changes in language use are occasioned by, and thus involve, interpretive acts by the parties in response to the interactional exchanges; hence, parties' contingent methods (i.e., in-situ sense-making practices) of talk need to be recovered analytically. Conversation-analytic descriptions of sequence construction provides a tool to uncover parties' interpretive accounts for the production of interaction as a competent achievement (Lee 2006). It is in this sense that, Lee and Hellermann argue, tracking L2 forms and functions and identifying the presence or absence of particular linguistic forms may not illuminate the process of L2 development by which such changes occur (cf. R. Ellis, 2010; Shintani & Ellis, 2014).

These unique contributions are based on CA's view of cognition as socially visible phenomena in interaction. Two or more people ordinarily maintain mutual understanding in conversation, even if one person's subjective experience of the other participants is "essentially inaccessible to every other individual" (Schütz, 1967, p. 99, cited in Heritage, 1984b, p. 54). Nevertheless, understanding is ordinarily possible because participants engaged in conversation

display and recognize "what is on each other's minds" (Sacks, 1992a, p. 147) in and through socially shared sequential practices. Thus, establishing understanding, or intersubjectivity, in interaction is a publicly cooperative process through socially shared procedural organizations (Schegloff, 1991). Every next turn reflects the speaker's analysis of the prior turn, which provides evidence of understanding of that prior turn to the speaker of the prior turn. The participant's analysis of the prior turn in next turn constitutes a "proof procedure" (Sacks et al., 1974, pp. 728-729) for the participants in interaction. Y.-A. Lee (2006) noted that participants' analysis in interaction constitutes their "competence that sustains and makes the interaction move forward" (p. 367). Every next relevant action evidences the participants' competence. This sequential view of understanding thus allows for analytic resources to examine the interactional organization that the participants co-construct as a demonstration of the participants' interactional competence.

3.2 Conceptual and Analytic Framework

3.2.1 CA-SLA as a radically usage-based theory of L2 learning

Based on CA's sequential, co-operative, and multimodal view of understanding, CA-SLA research takes a *radically* usage-based perspective on L2 development, requiring no exogenous learning mechanism to account for L2 development. CA-SLA views language learning as an "irremediably social enterprise" (Zimmermann, 1999, p. 198) that occurs in and through social activities with actively participating co-participants situated in the world filled with potentially meaningful objects (Kasper & Wagner, 2014; Lee, 2006; Markee, 2008; Wagner, 2015). Kasper and Wagner (2014) elucidates the CA-SLA's perspective on L2 learning mechanism:

> [l]anguage, culture, and interaction are learnable because they are on constant public exhibition in the "objective production and objective display of commonsense knowledge

of everyday activities as observable and reportable phenomena" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, p. 342) and the "inferential visibility of moral conduct" (Edwards, 1997). (p. 194)

Stating this idea differently, S. Fox (2006) has described L2 learning as a "process we could see as a temporal course of work and 'see' in the actual details of interpretive work" (p. 442). In this respect, as indicated by Kasper and Wagner (2014), CA-SLA work can align itself with usage-based approaches since the essence of usage-based thinking about L2 development includes the view that "language learning is fundamentally usage-driven" (Eskildsen & Cadierno, 2015, p. 1) and "language structure emerges from language use" (Tomasello, 2003, p. 5).

CA-SLA attempts to provide evidence that the structure of interaction influences L2 development (Kasper & Wagner, 2011, 2014; Markee & Kasper, 2004). This idea can be traced back to Schegloff (1989) who said about the language socialization process: "[t]he language learned there has its character and structure informed by the structure and contingencies of interaction, just as the practices for using the language are so informed" (p. 152). Hauser's (2013c) study clearly exemplifies CA's radically usage-based perspective on L2 learning understood as the L2 user's contingent learning behavior that exhibits their orientation to learning an L2.

3.2.2 Interactional competence

CA aims to study "the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organized interactions" (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984, p. 1). Competence is understood as socially shared practices used for accomplishing actions in interaction (Hellermann, 2011; Heritage, 1984b; Kasper & Wagner, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2010). This concept is based on the ethnomethodological assumption that "the production of observable social activities involves the local or situated use of member's methods for doing

such activities" (Francis & Hester, 2004, p. 21). In the abstract, the methods, or competencies, on one hand, refer to the sequential organization of turns (i.e., the major concern of CA) and, on the other hand, to the organization of common-sense knowledge in terms of categories (i.e., the major concern of Membership Categorization Analysis)(Hester & Hester, 2012; Stokoe, 2012).

From this perspective, CA-SLA research takes a praxeological view of language as one type of semiotic resources for actions and has explored interactional competences in various L2s understood as an ability required to mutually coordinate actions and to participate social interactions (Hall, Hellermann, & Pekarek Doehler, 2011; Kasper & Wagner, 2011, 2014; Pallotti & Wagner, 2011; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon Berger 2015). In this light, this study considers the stabilization of L2 competence as an item-based or practice-based phenomenon, as illustrated in Eskildsen (2011, 2012) and Hauser (2013c). This perspective strikingly differs from the classical notion of L2 stabilization (or fossilization) as understood to be occurring in a sweeping manner in one of the subsystems (e.g., functors) of an interlanguage system (Han, 2014). It is on this praxeological perspective (i.e. practice-related) of competence that this study focuses on Minji's continuing use of idiosyncratic FEs.

3.2.3 Conceptions of learning

CA-SLA research conceptualizes learning in two distinct types, and each type of learning entails different analytic procedures and evidence. The first notion of L2 learning is called *doing learning*, which refers to activities in which L2 users in interaction contingently make language learning the focal project (Firth & Wagner 2007, Markee & Kasper, 2004; Markee & Seo, 2009; Kasper & Wagner, 2011, 2014). Studies focusing on doing learning describe the processes of L2 learning based on evidence of L2 users' demonstrable orientations to "language learning behaviors," which is understood as a "conversational process that observably occurs in the

intersubjective space between participants, not just in the mind/brain of individuals" (Markee & Kasper, 2004, p. 496).

Work representative of doing learning includes Theodórsdóttir and Eskildsen (2011). Their study focused on Anna, a Canadian studying abroad in Iceland, where she is learning Icelandic through daily social activities such as buying hot dogs or chatting with Icelandic friends in L2 Icelandic. The study shows that Anna often suspended progress of an activity at hand due to problems formulating the turn in-progress in L2 Icelandic. When she could not find L2 Icelandic resources, she often substituted the trouble sources with English words (a.k.a. code-switch) to achieve understanding. This practice displayed her trouble to the co-participants, which invited their contributions. Although mutual understanding was established by her use of English, nevertheless, her co-participants often provided sought-for Icelandic words. Anna registered and used them to continue constructing the suspended turns. Such an analytic agenda locates L2 learning in the side sequence embedded in the main activity and demonstrates observable initiative language learning behaviors as a ubiquitous, collaborative activity in interaction, which has been understood as an individual, mental process.

The second type of learning in CA-SLA is the *development of interactional competence* over time (Kasper & Wagner, 2011, 2014; Lee & Hellermann, 2013, Markee, 2008). Unlike the agenda presented above, this research focus requires longitudinal or cross-sectional data. While procedures for the former research agenda only involve horizontal comparisons, investigation of the development of IC involves comparison across time as well. The development of socially recognizable practices includes everyday practices such as self-selecting in class (Cekaite, 2007), storytelling (Barraja-Rohan, 2015), aligning oneself as a recipient in storytelling (e.g., Ishida, 2011; Kim, 2016), or disagreeing (Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2011). Development of

linguistic resources covers: (1) particles, such as the Japanese interactional particle *ne* (Ishida, 2009), connectives *kuntey* and -*nuntey* (Y. Kim, 2009), words such as *overpass* or *prerequisite* (Y. Kim, 2012; Markee, 2008); (2) grammar, such as, English negation (Hauser, 2013c) and Japanese conjugation (Kasper & Burch, 2016); and (3) pronunciation (Brouwer, 2004).

3.2.4 Multimodality

Participants in interaction draw not only on talk in sequence but also on multimodal conduct and objects in the surrounding physical environment to produce actions and to display and manage mutual understanding. For C. Goodwin and Goodwin (2004), "[a] primordial site for the organization of human action, cognition, language, and social organization consists of a situation within which multiple participants are building in concert with each other the actions that define and shape their life world" (p. 238). He identified building blocks of the organization of human action, what he calls *contextual configuration,* defined as a "locally relevant array of semiotic fields that participants demonstrably orient to" (Goodwin, 2000, p. 1490) and detailed the elements of contextual configuration (Goodwin, 2007, p. 60): (1) relevant phenomena in an environment that is the focus of the work of a community; (2) linguistic and embodied categorizations of structure in that environment; (3) work-relevant actions; (4) the sequential organization of language as action; (5) gesture; and (6) multiparty embodied participation framework. In the same vein, Mondada (2011) argued, "it is difficult to investigate situated understandings without taking into account the detail of the embodied conducts of the participants and their mutual monitoring" (p. 546).

From these perspectives, a burgeoning body of recent research on social interaction has been concerned with the ways in which embodiment and objects in the environment serve as meaningful resources to produce actions in interaction (Deppermann, 2013; Heath & Luff, 2012;

Nevile, Haddington, Heinemann, & Rauniomaa, 2014; Nissi & Lehtinen, 2016; Streeck, Goodwin, & LeBaron, 2011). In the field of SLA, studies also have examined how embodiment and objects are employed in L2 use and learning (Eskildsen & Wagner, 2013, 2015; Greer, 2016; Gullberg, 2006; Gullberg, de Bot, & Volterra, 2010; Kasper & Burch, 2016; Markee, 2011; Mori & Haysahi, 2006; Seo & Koshik, 2010; Seyfeddinipur & Gullberg, 2014).

CA-SLA studies, in particular, have shown that bodily conduct during interaction is used as contingent interactional resources to ensure and restore intersubjectivity. Such bodily conduct includes repeatedly moving a hand downwards as an iconic gesture to convey the idea of gradual decrease (Mori & Hayashi, 2006); a sharp head tilt as a repair initiator (Seo & Koshik, 2010); and making a return gesture such as putting a hand under the desk to display incipient understanding (Eskildsen & Wagner, 2013). Eskildsen and Wagner are noteworthy as they showed how gestures are a relevant resource to L2 learning in the classroom context. Their study demonstrated how some return gestures were coupled with some specific vocabulary items, and the student and his teachers repeatedly used the gesture-vocabulary pairings to resolve intersubjective issues in ESL classes.

3.3 Data

3.3.1 Participants

The data[3] for this study consist of naturally occurring service encounters at a convenience store located in a residential area in Honolulu, Hawai'i. Initially, the primary participants are two adult Korean immigrants who own the convenience store. A married couple in their mid-forties, with two teenaged children, the participants immigrated to Hawai'i in June 2011. I first met this couple at a local Korean church in December 2011 and have known them as friends since. In May 2012, I recruited them for this research with a general research agenda

[3] This study has been approved by the University of Hawai'i Committee of Human Studies (CHS #20207).

about their L2 English use and development in their workplace. Both participants voluntarily agreed to participate in this study and signed the appropriate consent forms (see Appendix B). However, the husband's participation significantly decreased after he obtained a job at a local company in January 2013. As a result, this study focuses only on the woman participant, Minji.[4]

College educated, Minji majored in nutrition at a research university in Seoul, South Korea. After graduation, she worked as a secretary at a private company. Later, she taught elementary students as an after-school teacher for a private education company, and then ran her own after-school program. She taught her students the English alphabet and basic vocabulary. But, according to Minji, she never used English for real-life purposes. It was only after she arrived in Hawai'i with her family in June 2011 that she began to use English for real communication. After Minji took English conversation courses in her first year in university in Seoul in 1988, she had not studied English in a classroom setting. Once in Hawai'i, she attended an English conversation course at an adult local community college, but she could not attend class regularly as she became too busy working at the convenience store, and thus stopped attending classes within only one month.

Minji's life is filled with long hours of work at the convenience store. She works every day from 6:30 am to 9 pm. (14.5 hours per day) except Sundays, when she attends service at a Korean church. Her average commute time to work ranges from one to two hours depending on traffic. During most of the day, Minji works alone, especially after her husband obtained an outside job. Her husband usually returns to the store after work, between 6 and 7 pm, and stays until closing.

[4] All names appearing in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

The secondary participants are the customers entering the convenience store to seek service. Due to the demographic features of the convenience store's location, which I discuss below, most customers are Asian or Pacific islanders from diverse age groups.

3.3.2 Research site

Upon arriving in Hawai'i, Minji and her husband purchased an existing convenience store located in a multilingual residential area in Honolulu, which I refer to as the Pacific Mountain area.[5] They decided not to change the name of the store, Teru's Mart,[6] as it appeared to be already familiar to the Pacific Mountain residents and the store is a landmark in the community. This is probably because the store had been open for business for more than 10 years when Minji and her husband bought it.

According to a community profile (Center on the Family, 2003), around 46,000 residents live in the Pacific Mountain community. Asians constitute the highest percentage (65.8 %) of the area's population; almost half of the residents are Filipino (46.7 %). The second-largest group is "Other Pacific Islanders," making up 8.8 % of the residents (cf., Other Pacific Islanders constitute 3.2 % of the population in Honolulu county.). The Caucasian population in Pacific Mountain constitute a considerably smaller percentage (4.6 %) of the residents compared to the state-wide average of 24.3 %.

Since Teru's Mart sits in a residential area, business tends to be slow, a major contrast to the continually busy convenience chain stores. Teru's mart handles around 100-200 individual transactions[7] during 14.5 hours (6:30 a.m. to 9 p.m.). Minji's estimate accords with the data I

[5] This is a pseudonym.
[6] This is a pseudonym. But the real name of the store is an ordinary Japanese name.
[7] A convenience chain store located in a business district in central Tokyo processes about 1,300 transactions on a typical weekday according to Whitelaw (2008).

collected for this study during the busiest time of the business: 79-hour recordings reveal that, on average, 11 transactions occurred per hour.

Teru's mart sells a range of everyday items such as groceries, snack food, soft drinks, phone cards, cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, and newspapers and magazines. In the store, Minji uses English to conduct service encounters. She uses Korean to communicate with her business partners (e.g., an accountant, a lawyer, and wholesalers). The business partners are mostly Korean Americans or have Korean-speaking staff. Korean is the means of communication among her family members at home. Most of Minji's friends are members of her Korean church. Thus, almost all of her English use occurs at the convenience store with customers. The isolated environment of her L2 English in the workplace, where similar types of service encounters recur, serves as a "natural experiment" (Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 2005, p. 15) that provides a unique opportunity to observe how Minji's interactional competence in L2 English changes in and through interactions at the store.

3.3.3 Data Collection Procedures

I visited Minji's convenience store about once every two to three weeks over a 30-month period (126 weeks) from May 2012 to October 2014. I collected data on either Thursday or Friday between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m., when the store was relatively busy. On each visit, I video or audio recorded service encounters for about one to two and a half hours except for Recording #9 due to a technical problem. Data were collected 45 times during this period, with a total of about 79 hours of recordings that contain 869 service encounters. The overview of the data is presented in Table 3.1.

While recording the service encounters, I also took field notes. Since I was a friend of Minji, it was natural for us to have conversations when there were no customers. These

conversations helped me better understand her business and how she used English outside of the store.

Table 3.1 Overview of the data

Year	Recordings	Date (mm/dd/yy)	Data type	Length	Service encounters (*n*)
2012	1	5/16/12	audio only	1:01:39	10
(9 recordings)	2	6/15/12	audio only	0:49:30	10
(12.3 hours)	3	6/29/12	video	1:16:53	25
	4	7/20/12	video	1:38:41	22
	5	8/3/12	video	1:33:20	20
	6	8/24/12	video	2:30:16	25
	7	9/7/12	video	1:53:49	21
	8	10/5/12	video	1:19:45	22
	9	11/2/12	video	0:16:00	8
2013	10	1/11/13	video	2:35:35	33
(19 recordings)	11	2/1/13	video	1:27:41	19
(32 hours)	12	2/15/13	video	1:44:24	27
	13	3/29/13	video	1:39:12	22
	14	4/19/13	video	1:26:27	16
	15	5/17/13	video	1:00:07	12
	16	5/30/13	video	2:25:09	36
	17	6/28/13	video	1:21:09	11
	18	7/19/13	video	1:41:25	28
	19	8/2/13	video	1:24:39	12
	20	8/23/13	video	1:36:29	18
	21	9/5/13	video	1:42:46	17
	22	9/19/13	video	1:51:08	27
	23	10/3/13	audio only	1:33:28	15
	24	10/17/13	video	2:15:01	16
	25	10/31/13	video	1:14:09	18
	26	11/14/13	video	1:53:07	16
	27	11/28/13	video	1:34:56	10
	28	12/27/13	video	1:38:23	16
2014	29	1/11/14	video	2:10:02	16
(17 recordings)	30	2/11/14	video	1:53:14	10
(34.3 hours)	31	2/27/14	video	2:25:32	18
	32	3/13/14	video	1:53:14	16
	33	4/3/14	video	2:00:59	20

34	4/17/14	video	1:13:00	11
35	5/1/14	video	1:35:29	21
36	5/16/14	video	2:07:12	23
37	5/30/14	video	1:53:38	11
38	6/15/14	video	2:07:06	20
39	7/11/14	video	1:30:43	19
40	7/25/14	video	1:56:41	31
41	8/11/14	video	2:10:27	15
42	8/22/14	video	2:16:22	24
43	9/12/14	video	2:33:40	30
44	9/26/14	audio only	2:33:45	32
45	10/10/14	video	1:59:55	20
		Total	**79 hours**	**869**

Two steps were taken to inform customers of the ongoing video-recording. First, I posted a sign at the store entrance, saying "The owner's conversations are being recorded now for research purposes" along with information on the research project and my contact information (Figure 3.1 below). Secondly, I informed the customers of the recording and the purpose of the ongoing research after each service encounter, (see verbal protocol in Appendix A), then obtained consent. I also provided them with a separate flyer with my contact information in case they wanted to contact me with questions or to withdraw from the study (see Appendix A).

Figure 3.1 Notice of the ongoing video-recording for research purposes

3.3.4 Transcription

The 869 service encounters were transcribed according CA transcription conventions (Jefferson, 2004). Additional conventions were adopted to transcribe the participants' embodiment such as pointing and gazing (see Appendix C). I checked the transcripts with a bilingual speaker of English and Korean who grew up on Oahu. The collaborator was familiar with Hawai‘i Creole English (a.k.a. Pidgin) and Hawai‘i English (Drager, 2012) and helped me improve the transcripts.

I recognize that transcription is a theory-guided research artifact. Transcripts are not direct representations of the recordings. Rather, they are the outcomes of a series of analytic decisions regarding what to include according to the guiding theory and research aims (Jenks, 2011). In conversation analysis, transcripts are considered "unavoidably incomplete, selective renderings of the recordings" (ten Have, 2007, p. 32). Thus I do not treat the transcripts as the data for this dissertation, but instead, a research tool to fixate a version of the transient talk and embodied action for repeated analysis and a conventional way to present the data under investigation.

Combining a longitudinal single-case research design with the multimodal CA methodology (Lee & Hellermann, 2013; Goodwin, 2000), this study focuses on Minji's use of idiosyncratic FEs in service encounters. The overall goal is to broaden our understanding of the stabilization of idiosyncratic FEs by demonstrating how formulaic action formats used as routine solutions are produced through the fixed expressions and responded to by customers during service encounters. Fully recognizing that language learning and language use are inseparable (Firth & Wagner, 1998, 2007; Wagner & Firth, 1997), this study draws on the sequential view of

the interactional import of FEs and also takes into account embodiment and the use of objects used with idiosyncratic FEs in service encounters.

In the next chapter, I present the analysis, beginning with detailed description of the practices under investigation.

CHAPTER 4

PRACTICES FOR INFORMING CUSTOMERS OF A CARD PAYMENT POLICY

As discussed in Section 2.2, formulas are an integral part of L2 competence either from the perspective of pragmatic competence (Aijmer, 1996; Anderson, 1988; Bardovi-Harlig, 2012; Bardovi-Harlig, 2013; Kasper & Schmidt, 1996; Kuiper & Flindall, 2000; Taguchi, 2012), communicative competence (Celce-Murcia et al., 1995; Schmidt, 1983), or interactional competence (Cekaite, 2007; Nguyen, 2012; Waring, 2013). This view of formulas is especially relevant in service encounters during which a great deal of communication consists of routines and rituals (see Section 2.1). Indeed, Minji employs a wide array of fixed expressions and scripts that are tied to numerous particular sequential contexts. This seems to be because service encounters involve routines. Coulmas pointed out, "[a]s similar speech situations recur, speakers make use of similar and sometimes identical expressions, which have proved to be functionally appropriate" (p.2). In this regard, Minji's use of the fixed expressions in the payment activities appears to be the result of routinization in and through the recurrent payment activities.

Researchers noted some class of formulaic language is tied to a particular situation. For example, Coulmas (1981) understood "routine formulae" as "highly conventionalized prepatterned expressions whose occurrence is tied to more or less standardized communication situations" (pp. 2-3) (also multi-word expression[8] in Eskildsen & Cardierno, 2007; situation-bound utterance[9] in Kecskes, 2002). Günthner (2011) viewed formulaic language as routinized (or sedimented) linguistic patterns as part of the "social stocks of knowledge" (p. 158)

[8] An MWE is defined as "recurring sequence of words used together for a relatively coherent communicative purpose" (p. 6).

[9] An SBU is described as "highly conventionalized, prefabricated pragmatic units whose occurrences are tied to standardized communicative situations" (p. 4)

and the "socially constructed solutions" for recurrent actions. Coulmas mentioned a developmental motivation, "routine formulae can be drawn from the memory without much effort, and, at the same time, they give us time for conversational planning" (p. 10). Similarly, Günthner noted the processing efficiency as the benefit of routinization (or sedimentation) of linguistic resources for particular actions as formulaic language "takes the burden away from the participants of having to co-ordinate every communicative action or pattern anew" (p. 157).

It is obvious that requests and payments are the central activities of service encounters between customers and service providers. Thus, I chose to focus on a type of payment activities, one of the most essential activities of service encounter. This chapter delineate Minji's practices used during the payment activities that involve customers' use of credit or debit card for transactions less than $10 in order to explore issues related to the Minji's continuing use of idiosyncratic fixed expressions in two mediums. The analysis in this chapter demonstrates the long-term stability of Minji's practice and provides the background for the analysis in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 of this dissertation.

Specifically, I focus on Minji's stable practices, which involve the use of idiosyncratic fixed expressions, embodiment, and textual material during card payment activities over a 30-month period. The discussion in this chapter answers the following research questions:

1. How does the focal participant repeatedly enforce a store card-payment policy during the payment activities over the course of 30 months?
2. How do her customers orient to Minji's practice in the informing sequences?

The analysis describes the action that Minji implements to enforce the card payment policy during payment activity in light of Schegloff's (1996a, pp. 172-173) stipulation for generating an account of an action:

1. A formulation of what action or actions are being accomplished;
2. A grounding of this formulation in the "reality" of the participants;
3. An explication and analysis of what it is about the observed talk or other conduct or the practices embodied in it, which makes the enactment of that talk or other conduct possibly an instance of the proposed action, and makes it analyzable by the co-participants as an instance of that action

I identify the composition and placement of the fixed expressions in sequence by which Minji informs customers of the store's card payment policy and thus enforces it. The analysis also shows how Minji uses the fixed expressions in relation to customers' epistemic status on the store policy. Before delving into the data, however, it seems useful to discuss the card payment policy at Teru's Mart.

4.1 Card Payment Policy at Teru's Mart

Minji reported that shortly after they began their business in June 2011, she and her husband established a store payment policy that stipulated a minimum purchase of $10 for any credit or debit-card purchase. As reflected in the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act[10] regulating interchange fees for card transactions, card payment policies at small-scale businesses are not uncommon in the United States. One distinct aspect of Minji's store policy is that it allows customers to purchase less than the minimum dollar amount with a *transaction fee* of 20 cents.

According to Minji, they decided to implement their minimum-purchase policy for card transactions after her husband learned from their bank that "inquiry fees" can add up to a

[10] All merchants are legally free to set a minimum purchase, up to $10. This practice was legalized as part of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act in October 1, 2011, to lower costs for retailers. https://www.ftc.gov/system/files/documents/plain-language/bus78-new-rules-electronic-payments-lower-costs-retailers.pdf

substantial amount to retailers. Card companies typically charge an inquiry fee of 20 to 35 cents per transaction. As a result, the inquiry fee for their store could easily exceed the profit that Minji makes on sales less than $10. According to Minji, the monthly inquiry fees easily add up to $300 to $400. Her account accords with the National Retail Federation's[11] (Pofeldt, 2013) argument that a transaction fee of 2 to 4 % of a $10 purchase can amount to as much as 40 cents.

Minji said that she charges the 20-cent transaction fee one to three times a day. Throughout the 30-month data collection period, I recorded 25 cases in which Minji imposed the transaction fee. This dissertation focuses primarily on these 25 cases. Throughout the dissertation, when referring to this activity, I interchangeably use the terms informing activity or informing sequence, understood as a component of the overall structural organization of the service encounter (Robinson, 2012).

4.2 The Stable Informing Practices

The turn in which Minji informs customers of the store's card payment policy is tightly scripted in terms of its composition and sequential position in the light of the overall sequential organization of the service encounter at Teru's Mart. I first explore the organization of the informing sequence in the payment activity as presented in Figure 4.1 below.

The informing sequence highlighted in Figure 4.1 is embedded in the payment activity initiated by Minji's calculation (line 8). The excerpt in Figure 4.1 exemplifies what Haddington, Keisanen, Mondada, and Nevile (2014) called "multiactivity" that participants "organize multiple activities together, concurrently or serially" (p. 5).

The excerpt shows a payment activity initiated in line 8 and closed by Minji's thanking for the customer's submission of payment in line 34. In-between, there four sub-activities occur serially. The essential sub-activities of payment activity consist of (1) calculation of the total

[11] http://www.creditcards.com/credit-card-news/merchant-minimum_purchase-credit-debit-1585.php

purchase (line 8); (2) an announcement of the payment due (line 15); (3) payment by the customer (line 33); and (4) an authorization process which also consists of Minji's request for an authorization from a card company and then for a signature on a receipt from a customer to verify the transaction.

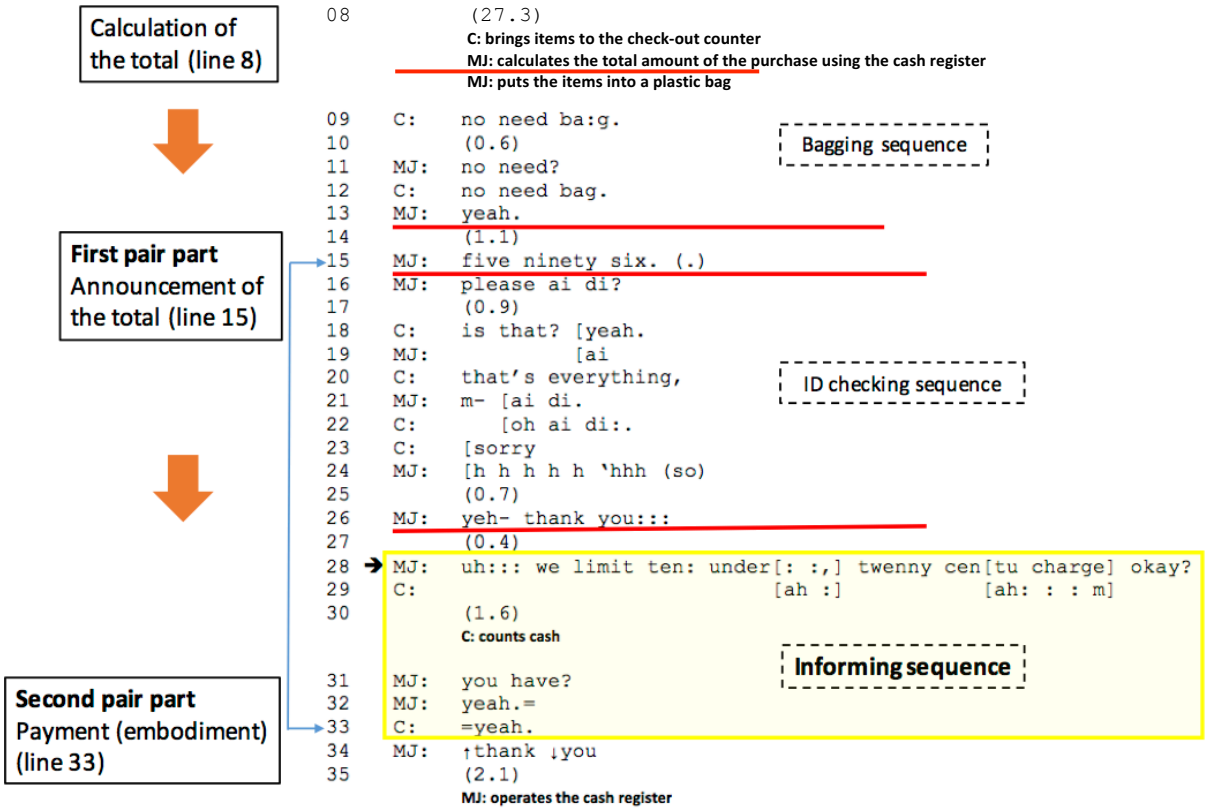


Figure 4.1 The overall structural organization of card payment activity at Teru's Mart

During the payment activity, Minji and the participants also conduct (1) bagging (lines 8-13); (2) an ID checking sequence (lines 16-26); and (3) the informing sequence (lines 28-33). The second (ID checking) and third (informing sequence) activities occur only when the purchase includes alcoholic beverages or the purchase is less than $10 and is paid by credit or debit card, respectively. The figure above does not include the authorization process because the

customer changes the method of payment from card to cash in response to the store policy (lines 29-30).

The informing sequence is constructed in two different ways. More frequently, Minji initiates the informing sequence by notifying a customer of the store's card-payment policy. In this case, the informing turn is mostly deployed *after* the announcement of the total payment due. Thus, the informing sequence comes as an insert sequence (cf. Schegloff, 2007), located between the first pair part (announcement of the payment due) and the second pair part (payment) of the payment activity (see Figure 1 above). In the insert sequence, Minji provides necessary information that customers need to know for them to be able to produce the second pair part for the main payment activity.

Less frequently, customers request information about the store's card payment policy—for example, about whether the store accepts a credit or debit card, accepts a particular type of card (e.g., Visa, Master, American Express), or about the amount of the dollar minimum for card transactions. Minji's answers to these questions (i.e., in second position) inform customers of the store's card payment policy. Customers' question that initiates the informing sequence occurs flexibly in light of the overall sequential structure of service encounter, for example, before service requests, or during calculation.

When Minji initiates the informing sequence, she primarily uses two types of fixed linguistic formats: (1) most representatively: *yeah we limit ten under twenny centu charge okay?* which I call a fixed multi-unit expression; and (2) a few truncated variants of the fixed multi-unit expression (e.g., *twenny centu charge okay*?). The fixed multi-unit expression and its variants are produced in a relatively fluent manner compared to Minji's other practices and are also produced with an almost fixed intonation contour.

The linguistic resources that consist of the fixed multi-unit expression are almost exclusively used for the action of informing customers of the store policy during the payment phase of service encounters. Thus, use of the verb, *limit*, or the noun, *charge*, are not observed outside of the informing sequence in the data. This therefore suggests that the fixed multi-unit expression was not productively used *outside* of the card payment activities. However, Minji adapts some part of the fixed multi-unit expression to inform customers of the store policy in various sequential contexts as she takes into account customers' different epistemic status, sequential positions of the informing turn, and customers' misassumption of the store policy.

All instances of the use of the fixed multi-unit expression in the first position are presented in Table 4.1, and the use of its truncated variants in Table 4.2. As shown in the two tables above, the ways in which Minji informs customers of the store's card payment policy are strikingly stable with respect to the customers' relative epistemic statuses throughout the 30-month data-collection period.

Table 4.1 *Fixed multi-unit expression in the first position with unknowing customers*

No.	Date (mm/dd/yy)	Turn Constructional Units					
2	8/3/12	yeah:-	an:d	we limi ↓te:n:↑ (0.4)	under:,	>twenny centu charge.< (.)	>okay?<
*3	1/11/13	yeah-		we limit te:n	under	twenny centu charge:	oke:?
*4	2/1/13	yeah		<we limit te:n	under	twenny centu charge	oka::y?>
*5	3/29/13	yeah. (.)		we limit te:n	under	twenny centu charge	oka:y↑
6	10/3/13	*yea:::*		we limi te:n	under	twenny cen charge	okay↑
10	1/11/14			we limit ten	>under	twenny centu char°ge°	okay?<
12	5/12/14	yeah ˙hhh		we limi ten	under	twenny centu charge	oke?
*15	6/15/14	yeah		we limit ten	under	twenny centu charge?	okay?
16	7/11/14	uh:::		we limit ten:	under::,	twenny centu charge	okay?
18	7/25/14	yeah (0.2) ˙hh		we <limit te:n,	under	twenny centu charge	okay?>
19	7/25/14	yeah. (0.3)		we limi te:n	under	twenny °cen- charge?°	
20	8/22/14	yo-		>we limi ten	°un	twence charge?°<	
*24	10/10/14	yeah- ˙h		WE limit ten:	under	twenny centu charge	okay?

Note. Cases with an asterisk involve a repair activity.

Table 4.2 *Truncated variants of the fixed multi-unit expression in the first position with knowing customers*

No.	Date (mm/dd/yy)	Turn Constructional Units		
1	6/29/12		twenny centu charge?	
7	10/17/13	yeah (0.5)	˙hh $twenny cen charge?$	
*9	1/11/14	yeah	>twenny centu charge	okay?<
11	3/13/14		twenny centu charge?	
14	5/16/14	yeah (0.2)	twenny centu charge	okay?
21	9/12/14		>twenny centu charge<	( )
23	10/10/14	yeah	>twenny centu charge	okay?<

Note. Cases with an asterisk involve a repair activity.

The fixed multi-unit expression implements multiple actions in a single turn. First, *yeah* is sometimes used as a response token to acknowledge customers' submission of a card to pay for a purchase. Also, *yeah* claim an incipient speakership (Drummond & Hopper, 1993; Jefferson, 1984), functioning as a pre-beginning of the informing turn after the total purchase amount is announced (Schegloff, 1996b).

The remaining TCUs can be divided into two parts, according the action being performed and the prosodic features that overlay the expression. The first part, *we limit ten under*, appears to inform the minimum for card transactions at the store, which serves as the basis for adding a 20-cent transaction fee. The arrangement of the TCUs exhibits some grammatical problems, which I will discuss in Section 4.6. The second part, *twenny centu charge*, is the amount of the transaction fee. Finally, *okay* in rising intonation solicits the customer's response (Stivers & Rossano, 2010).

The informing in the first or in the second position projects a course of action, or a *sequence* (Levinson, 2012; Schegloff, 1996b, 2007). The informing done in the first position makes customers' compliance with the store policy as a relevant next, either by: (1) accepting the transaction fee; (2) changing the payment method (e.g., cash) to avoid the fee; or (3) buying more items to exceed the minimum to also avoid the fee. A dispreferred response type observed

in the data occurs when customers refuse to comply with the store's card payment policy by canceling the transaction during the payment activity. In light of the course of action, the informing can be understood as a vehicle for making a request, which can be described as "a type of social action in which the interactional goal of the first speaker is to get his or her co-participant to perform an action (i.e., transferring something of value such as, an object, service, or information) that will benefit the first speaker or a third party" (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006, p. 1).

While requests by customers in service encounters are considered beneficial to both buyers and sellers (Antonopoulou, 2001; S.-H. Lee, 2011), soliciting customers' approval of the 20-cent transaction fee places the burden only on customers (e.g., paying the transaction fee or trying to avoid the fee). In this regard, the informing turn is sequentially dispreferred (Schegloff, 2007; Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006, on preference organization relating to first pair parts). As analyses of the excerpts (4.2 to 4.4) below show, the design of the fixed multi-unit expression and its variants includes an account—that is, invoking the policy for imposing the transaction fee verbally (*we limit ten under*) and gesturally (i.e., gazing at and pointing to a posted printed explanation of the store's card payment policy)—exhibiting its dispreferred status (Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 2007).

Heritage (2012b) observed that participants in interaction may "unproblematically share a great deal of knowledge about each other's epistemic status with regard to a wide variety of epistemic domains" (p. 384). Related to this observation, when Minji informs customers of the store policy, she visibly orients to their epistemic status on the policy and divides them into at least three groups based on their perceived epistemic status. The first group of customers is whom Minji perceives as not familiar with the store payment policy. To inform these customers,

Minji employs the full multi-unit expression (see Table 4.1). On other occasions, MInji simply indicates the amount of the transaction fee by using the latter component of the fixed multi-unit expression: *twenny centu charge (okay)* in rising intonation with a pointing gesture at the notice (see Table 4.2). In this way, use of the truncated variants of the multi-unit expression demonstrates how Minji continuously adapted the practice to each customer's epistemic access the store's card payment policy (cf. C. Goodwin, 1979). Some other customers request information about card payments, thus exhibiting their knowledge of general card payment customs in Hawai'i (I refer them to as partially knowing customers, see Table 4.3). Minji provides the sought-for information which in turn enforces the store policy. The different designs of the informing turn serve as evidence of Minji's orientation to recipient design (Sacks et al., 1974).

4.3 Informing in the First and Second Positions

In this section, I demonstrate Minji's practices used for informing customers of the store's card payment policy in the first and second position in sequence during the payment activities. The analysis highlights the work to be recognized as the action that Minji attempts to construct. First, however, to better describe the target practices, I present a case in which Minji does *not* initiate the informing sequence during the payment activity. The following service encounter in Excerpt 4.1 is a case in point. The transaction was recorded toward the middle of the observation period and was extracted from Recording #20 out of 45 recordings. The excerpt begins at line 1, where Minji greets the customer.

[Excerpt 4.1, Recording #20, 09/19/13]

01 MJ: hi::
02 (1.2)
03 C: ( ) ah: two pack Menthol ↑Yu Es [Ei↓
04 MJ: [two pack?
05 (0.9)
MJ: takes cigarettes from the shelf.

06 MJ: °yeah°
07 (3.3)
MJ: calculates the total by operating cash register

08 ➔ MJ: ↓thirty ↑seven, +eleven,
C: +gives MJ a card

+takes the card (F1)
09 ➔ MJ: ↓+thank you↑

Frame 1.

Frame 2.

10 ➔ (13.1)
MJ: swipes card (F2) and operates the POS terminal.

...
((14 omitted in which Minji and another customer made small talk))

25 C: thank you↑
26 MJ: thank you↑

Note. The ordinal number in the excerpt title refers to the *n*th recording out of 45 recordings collected throughout the 30-month observation period. The 6-digit number in the title refers to the date of the data collection (mm/dd/yy). A point-of-sale (POS) terminal is an electronic device used to process card payments.

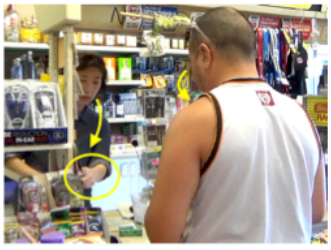
Minji announces the total of the purchase (line 8). In overlap with the announcement, the customer hands a card to Minji (line 8). Minji accepts it with thanks in line 9 (Frame 1) and then initiates the authorization process. Minji requests an authorization of the transaction from the card company by entering the total on the point-of-sale (POS) terminal and then swipes the card through the POS terminal (line 10). Minji's hand swiping the card is captured in Frame 2. During the 13.1-second silence in line 10, Minji performs multiple activities, including, waiting for the

authorization from the card company and giving the customer the receipt to sign. In the omitted 14 lines (lines 11 to 24), Minji and another customer engage in small talk, while the customer in the transaction is gazing toward the main entrance as shown in Frame 2. In line 25, the customer closes the transaction by thanking Minji. In this payment activity in Excerpt 4.1, Minji does not explain the store's card payment policy when the customer pays the purchase by card. This is because the total purchase is more than $10, so the policy is not relevant to the transaction at hand.

As a contrasting case, the excerpt below illustrates a payment activity that involves the informing sequence. The following analysis of Excerpt 4.2 demonstrates Minji's use of both the fixed multi-unit expression and its truncated variant. In addition, the analysis documents how Minji and the customer orient to the notice of the store's card payment policy posted on the wall next to the check-out counter. At first, Minji initiates the informing sequence through the truncated practice (line 15) and subsequently self-repairs with the fixed multi-unit expression (line 17). The excerpt begins after Minji and the customer exchange greetings (lines 1 and 2).

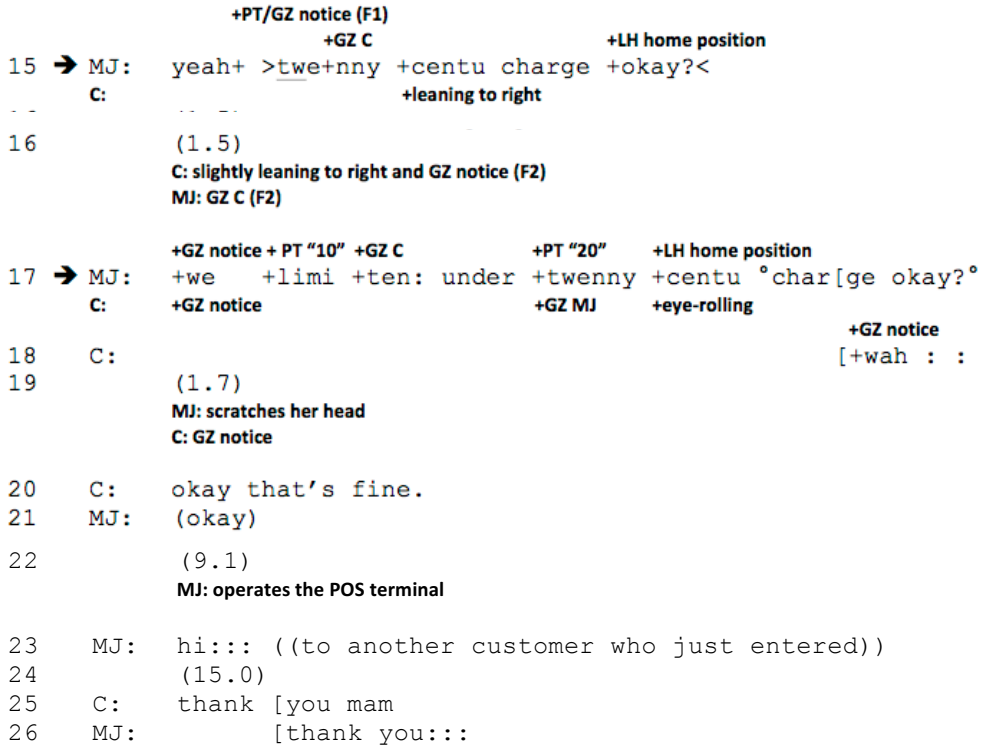
[Excerpt 4.2, case 9, Recording #30, 1/11/14]

```
01    MJ:   hi
02    C:    hi
03          (3.0)
            C: walks toward the counter

04    C:    can I get uh: Kools in the box please?
05          (0.8)
            MJ: looks up at the shelf

06    MJ:   m:::: filter king?
07    C:    yeah
08    MJ:   yeah
09          (2.5)
10    MJ:   eight ↓thirty↑
11          (3.0)
12    C:    how mu-
13    MJ:   eight thirty.
14          (4.7)
            C: gives MJ a credit card
```



Frame 1.

Frame 2.



Note. Solid lined arrows on the frames show the participants' gaze direction. Dotted lined arrows illustrate the direction of body movement. Circles highlight objects oriented to by the participants.

After Minji announces the purchase total (line 13), the customer hands her a credit card (line 14). Minji understands this embodiment as the selection of the method of payment. As shown in Except 4.1, the relevant next after receiving the card in the payment activity is the initiation of the authorization process in which Minji swipes the credit card through the POS terminal to request an authorization from the credit card company. However, Minji does not operate the POS terminal. Instead, she utters the truncated expression, "yeah >twenny centu charge okay?<" (line 15).

Minji initiates the informing activity through this truncated expression *without* the regulatory information about the minimum purchase when the policy serves the basis for Minji to charge the 20-cent transaction fee. This way of informing customers of the policy thus reflects

her assumption that inclusion of the information about the required minimum is unnecessary and redundant in enforcing the payment policy. This then indicates Minji's analysis that the customer can epistemically access to the store policy without explaining the policy, thus demonstrating that she has treated the policy as shared knowledge. In this sense, use of the truncated format of the multi-unit expression demonstrates Minji's analysis of customers' epistemic status on the in-store card payment policy.

Minji not only uses the verbal resources (i.e., fixed multi-unit expression and truncated variants) but also employs gestures and a textual object (i.e., the notice) whenever she informs a customer of the store policy.

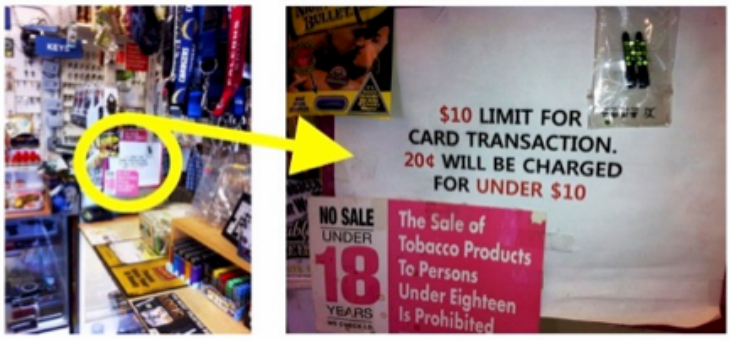


Figure 4.2 *Notice of the Store's Card Payment Policy*

Minji reported that her husband had written the phrase on the notice (see Figure 4.2) and posted it at the check-out counter after consulting with their bank about credit card transaction fees. While Minji utters "twenny centu charge okay?" (line 15), she momentarily looks at the notice and points at the "20¢" printed in red, as captured in Frame 1. The simultaneous placement of the pointing gesture and gazing behavior links her utterance to the notice so as to be heard *citing* the notice. She does not, however, read the text on the notice word for word.

The customer does not respond to Minji's verbal practice but to her embodiment (i.e., gazing and pointing at the notice). He turns his body to the right and looks at the notice to his left

as shown in Frame 2 (line 16). This adjustment of body position suggests that he is engaged in reading the notice. Minji waits for 1.5 seconds (line 16) and then treats the customer's continuing absence of response during which the customer focuses on the notice as an indication of trouble. Thus, she self-repairs the trouble-source turn (i.e., line 15) by replacing it with the fixed multi-unit expression, "we limi te:n (.) under twenny centu °charge okay°?" (line 17) which includes the regulatory part of the policy, in addition to the surcharge amount. Once again, the fixed multi-unit expression is not read verbatim from the notice. By including the rule for the minimum policy, Minji construes the trouble as the customer's epistemic status on the store policy.

In sum, the analysis of Excerpt 4.2 illustrates the routine informing sequence occurring during the payment activity. I demonstrated the use of the two types of fixed expressions in the first position as the result of Minji's analysis of the customer's epistemic status on the store's payment policy. In addition, I highlighted the participants' orientations to the notice as a crucial resource for the action constructed during the informing sequence.

The analysis of Excerpt 4.2 above has illustrated the case in which Minji initiates the informing sequence in the first position by using the fixed multi-unit expression, its truncated form, and the notice through embodiment. In four out of 25 cases (16 %), customers request information about the store's card payment policy, thus initiating the informing sequence. Minji enforces the store's payment policy in the second position in this sequential context by responding to the questions.

Customer requests for information or clarification about the minimum card purchase display their general knowledge about card-payment conventions in Hawai'i. This convention is by no means consistent across the islands, as suggested by the customers' requests for

information about the Teru's Mart's card payment policy. According to Minji's membership knowledge as a Hawai'i resident since June, 2011, the amount of minimum purchase varies from $5 to $10; and the amount of the transaction fee typically ranges from 20 cents to 35 cents. Some businesses accept only certain types of credit cards. For example, Teru's mart does not accept American Express credit cards. Finally, some businesses allow card payments with an additional transaction fee when the transaction at hand totals less than a required minimum, while other businesses do not. In fact, Minji takes pride in providing better service than other small-size convenience stores on the grounds that she accepts card payments purchases under $10 with a relatively small transaction fee of 20 cents.

Given the background of diverse policies on a minimum purchase in small-scale businesses in Hawai'i, it is not surprising that customers' question about the store's card payment policy often exhibits certain assumptions that are not consistent the payment policy in Teru's Mart. Minji copes with customers' assumptions while responding. Consequently, she uses a few more varying expressions than when she provides the policy information in the first position.

As can be seen in Table 4.3 below, Minji employs two types of response formats using relatively fixed expressions. In some cases (e.g., Excerpts 6.6 and 4.3), Minji uses *we limit ten* or *ten limit,* which can be seen as a variant of the multi-unit expression.

Table 4.3 *Two types of loosely fixed expression for informing in the second position*

Case	Excerpt	Date (mm/dd/yy)	Turn Constructional Units				
13	6.6	05/16/14	>ˈhh ↑yeah ↓yeah<	but	we limit ten:⤻		
*17	7.3/7.8	07/11/14	↑*m*:↓		↑you can ↑u:su↓		olly ↑twenny °cent charge.°
22	4.3	09/26/14	yeah		ten limit:		
*25	7.8	10/10/14	ye:ah:: (.)	uh: minimum ten	bu:t you can bu::y↑	under:-	olly twenny centu charge.

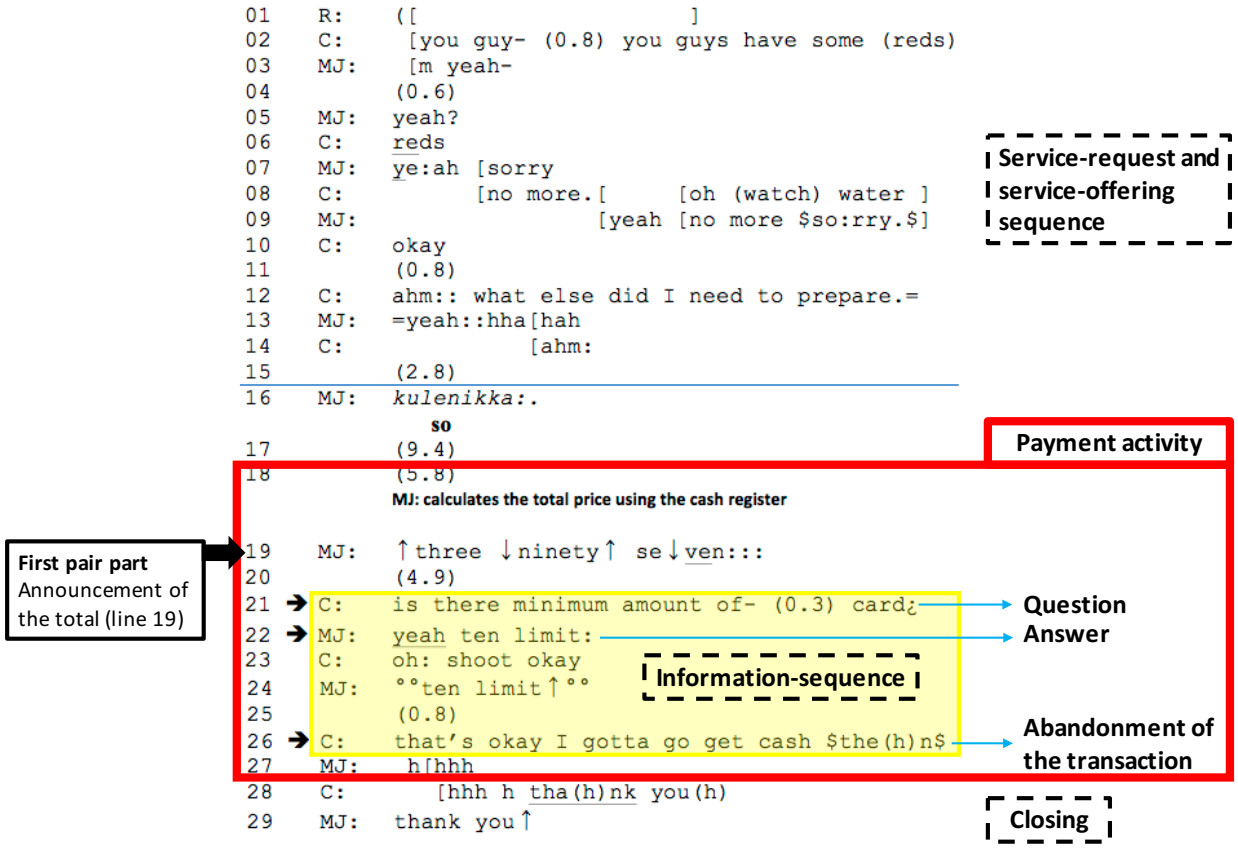
Note. Cases with an asterisk involve a repair activity.

But in other cases (e.g., Cases 17 and 22), she uses additional resources such as *m*, a Korean disaffiliative exclamation (Ahn, 2012), with sharp rising and falling intonation (Case 17) and a

you-can-verb pattern. The additional resources are evidence of Minji's orientation to the customers' assumptions about the store's payment policy exhibited in the customers' request formats. I discuss these additional linguistic resources in Sections 7.4 and 7.5 in Chapter 7.

The data in Excerpt 4.3 below illustrates the verbal and non-verbal resources Minji uses for explaining the store's card payment policy in response to the customer's request for information. The analysis begins in lines 18-19 where Minji begins the payment activity by calculating the total and announces it.

[Excerpt 4.3, case 22, Recording #44, 09/26/14]



Note. The data in this excerpt is audio-recorded.

Minji's announcement of the total amount owed (line 19) projects payment by the customer. During the long 4.9-second silence (line 20) Minji waits for the customer as she appears to be searching for cash, based on the sound in the recording. Minji treats this embodiment as a

preliminary to paying for the purchase by cash. However, it seems that the customer has not found enough cash.

The customer puts the payment sequence on hold and then inquires about the minimum for card transactions (line 21). As in the case of the informing sequence initiated by Minji constituted a pre-second insertion expansion sequence, the customer's information seeking question regarding the store's card payment policy also launches a pre-second insert expansion to see the resources necessary to implement the second pair part (i.e., making payment by card). The request for confirmation (line 21) about a minimum purchase policy indicates the customer's assumption about card transactions at the store. This request thus shows her own independent epistemic access to card payment conventions in Hawai'i but not to the policy at this particular store. In response, Minji confirms the customer's assumption about a required minimum purchase and specifies the minimum: "yeah ten limit" (line 22). Minji constructs the response turn by using some component of the multi-unit expression. The customer treats the response as sought-for-information as indicated by *oh*-prefaced acknowledgement in line 23 (Heritage, 1984a).

Earlier in Section 4.3, based on the 869 service encounters collected over a 30-month period, I reported that Minji did not productively apply the fixed expression outside of the payment sequence. This is probably because the fixed multi-unit expression was formed in and through the recurrent card payment activities as a routinized solution for the action of imposing the store policy. This explains one reason why the fixed multi-unit expression is not used productively outside of this sequence. The analysis of Excerpt 4.3, however, reveals that part of the fixed expression is used to manage different interactional contingencies in the informing sequences. For example, Minji uses *limit* (lines 22 and 24) as a noun when she responds to a

customer's request for information about the store's minimum purchase. In addition, we see the productive use of the *you-can-verb* pattern combined with the part of the fixed multi-unit expression used to address customers' misassumption about the store's payment policy (see Tables 4.3 and 7.2), which is discussed in detail in Chapter 7. This appears to confirm Eskildsen's (2009) observation that fixed expressions can consist of a mixture of different constructions.

4.4 Three Types of Informing Sequences and the Distribution of Repair Activities

As described in the previous sections, the composition of the informing practice shows Minji's orientation to two factors: *who* initiates the informing sequence and *how* Minji analyzes customer epistemic status with regard to the store's card payment policy. Based on these two factors, the 25 cases of the informing sequences can be divided into three groups, schematically presented in Table 4.4 below.

The table below shows that relatively many customers (36 %)—in 9 of 25 cases—display problems of understanding, despite the informing activity routinely occurs one to three times a day. Since she began to enforce this policy from June 2011, based on a simple calculation, Minji probably had enforced this policy 1,200 to 3,600 times by the end of the data-collection period in October 2014.

Table 4.4 *Distribution of repairs activities in relation to customers' epistemic status*

Initiator	Customer's Epistemic Status		
	Knowing	Partially knowing	Unknowing
Minji	6	0	14 (6)
Customer	0	5 (3)	0

Note . The number in parenthesis indicates the number of cases involved in a repair activity.

The frequency distribution of repair activities is an important result. None of the customers treated as knowing by Minji show trouble understanding Minji's informing practices, whereas customers whom Minji perceived as partially knowing (3 of 5, 60 %) and unknowing customers (6 out of 14, 43 %) display trouble. The distribution of the repair activities shown in Table 4.4 thus shows that problems of understanding are endemic among less-knowing customers which involves Minji's use of *limit* in the informing turn. This suggests that the intelligibility of the practice for the informing of the store policy depends a great deal on: (1) customers' epistemic status about the store's card payment policy; (2) the use of full fixed multi-unit expression; and (3) the sequential placement of the FEs. Chapters 5 and 6 discuss these aspects relevant to the recognizability of Minji's action.

4.5 Idiosyncratic Grammar and Word Choice in the Informing Practice

In the previous section, I indicated that understanding problems in the informing sequences are more frequent among partially knowing or unknowing customers. When informing these groups of customers of the store policy, Minji uses the fixed multi-unit expression (*we limit ten under twenny centu charge okay*?) or the truncated variants (*we limit ten, or ten limit*), while drawing customer's attention to the notice (see Figure 4.3) of the store policy. These expressions exhibit problems of grammaticality and word choice primarily pertaining to the use of *limit*.

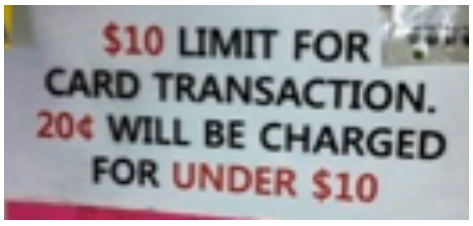


Figure 4.3 Written expression on the policy notice

The word limit means to "restrict or confine within limits" (WordNet, 2016[12]) as in we never limit the reader's curiosity or let the user limit their search to an exact phrase (extracted from Corpus of Contemporary American English). In light of this dictionary meaning, the spoken and written expressions literally mean that the customer cannot purchase more than $10 for card transactions. In other words, the expressions indicate $10 as the maximum for card transactions at the store while Minji intends to mean that $10 is the minimum purchase.

Figure 4.4 *Minimum and Limit in everyday life in Oahu*

(a) (b) (c)

(a) Traffic sign on H-1 interstate highway; (b) Price tag in Sam's club; and (c) Price tag in Don Quijote (the largest Asian grocery store in Hawai'i)

Minji sometimes uses *limit* as a noun, which can be defined as "the greatest or least amount, number, speed" according to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. The two words (*maximum* and *limit*) are observable in Minji's everyday life on Oahu, such as on road signs or in various markets (see Figure 4.4).

Minji does not employ any of the four possible ways in which *limit* can be used as a verb according to VerbNet (Kipper-Schuler, 2005): (1) NP V NP pattern; (2) NP V NP {to} V-ING phrase; (3) NP V NP PP.goal; and (4) NP V NP {to} V-INF phrase. The intended meaning of *limit* used in the informing turn appears to be resultative: *X causes Y to become Z* (Goldberg, 1995; Goldberg & Jackendoff, 2004). When Minji uses *limit* in the fixed multi-unit expression, however, she omits the thing being limited (e.g., the card transactions). Instead, the verb *limit* is

[12] http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=limit&sub=Search+WordNet&o2=&o0=1&o8=1&o1=1&o7=&o5=&o9=&o6=&o3=&o4=&h=

followed by the argument of the characteristic of the limitation, which needs to be a prepositional phrase (e.g., We limit card transactions *to more than a $10 total purchase*; The Pentagon had been hoping to limit the initial withdrawal *to 3,000 to 4,000*; To conserve currency, banks that recently reopened in Benghazi now limit customers *to monthly withdrawals of 200 Libyan dinars*.)[13]

From a constructional usage-based linguistics perspective, this sort of ungrammatical L2 English use can be attributed to Minji's lack of the English resultative constructional knowledge. Also the missing argument could be attributed to L1 transfer because the Korean language permits omission of subjects, objects, and possessors (Sohn, 1994).

In addition to the above ungrammatical aspect, Minji places the preposition "under" after the noun that it governs (e.g., "we limit *ten under* twenny centu charge okay?"). This postpositional phrase appears to constitute one of the arguments of the verb *limit*, functioning as the characteristic of the limiting. The characteristic appears to indicate the directionality of the restriction (i.e., under), corresponding to the required amount of $10 as the minimum for card transactions at the store. As a Korean L1 user, I hear the use of "under" as the translation of a Korean noun, *iha,* which means *less than*, *fewer*, or *below*. When *iha* is used in Korean, it is placed after an amount, a number, or degree (e.g., *sip* [ten] *pwul* [dollar] *iha*). Thus, the position of "under" in the multi-unit expression appears to be influenced by the usage of *iha* in Korean based on the evidence of the preceding amount "ten" that corresponds to the characteristic of the limiting.

The word-choice problem in the posted notice at Teru's Mart is evident when comparing it with the policy notices posted by other small businesses in Hawai'i. As can be seen in Figure 4.5, these notices commonly employ the word *minimum* and do not use *limit* (cf. Figure 4.3).

[13] FrameNet, https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/lu/lu16997.xml?mode=lexentry

In short, this analysis of the fixed expressions presented: (1) the problematic use of *limit* that lacks the argument of what is being limited; (2) the problematic placement of *under*; and (3) the word-choice problem in using *limit* rather than *minimum*. The format of the informing turn thus shows multiple lexical and grammatical problems.

Figure 4.5 Notices of a minimum purchase for card transactions in Hawai'i

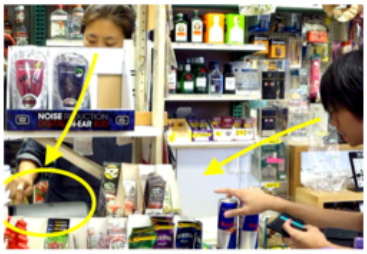
The idiosyncrasies in Minji's informing practices in the spoken and written versions of the policy are not just my concern. Some customers also explicitly orient to some of the L2 English use, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. In the analysis of the following excerpt below, I highlight the way in which the customer formulates the card-payment policy on the notice. In Excerpt 4.5, I show the participant's overt orientation to Minji's practice as a trouble source.

The data in Excerpt 4.4 begins when two customers enter the store. Minji greets them (line 1), and one of the customers (C1) returns the greeting (line 2). During the 32.7-second

silence (line 3), the customers independently look for items they want to purchase (i.e., self-service, Traverso, 2001).

[Excerpt 4.4, case 8, recording #26, 11/14/13]

01 MJ: hi:
02 C1: hi:
03 (32.7)
04 MJ: ((coughing))
05 → C1: can I do ↓debit↑
06 (0.5)
C: puts drinks on counter
MJ: calculates the total



Frame 1.

07 → MJ: yeah
08 (1.0)
MJ: calculates the total (F1)
C: looks at the notice (F1)

+GZ notice (F2)
09 → C1: +oh
MJ: +calculates the total

Frame 2.

+turns back and moves to the right, out of the camera angle
10 → C1: +(0.4) has to be ten dollar minimum:¿+
MJ: +calculates the total **+completes calculation**

11 (2.3)
MJ: moves to the counter and GZ toward entrance (F3)

Frame 3.

12 C2: (I I ↑got that)
13 C1: are you sure?
14 C2: ↑yeah it's good (man)=
15 C1: =alright
16 (2.0)
C2: moves to the counter and looks at the cash register
MJ: looks at approaching C2 and checks the cash register

17 MJ: six ↓thirty↑ ↓↑eight:::
18 MJ: $°hm$ hi°

In line 5, the customer requests confirmation about using a debit card as the payment method. This question about payment methods indicates the customer's knowledge of general card payment conventions in Hawai'i. Minji briefly confirms that it is acceptable, while still continuing to calculate the purchase total (Frame 2). As Customer 1 waits to hear the final total amount (line 8), he notices the sign posted at the check-out counter. He begins to look at it

closely by moving to the right side to reposition himself so that he can see it better (Frame 2). After the 1.0-second focus on the notice, Customer 1 claims understanding by using a stand-alone "oh" (Heritage, 1984a) in line 9. He then turns back, moves to Customer 2 and explains the card payment policy to him.

Customer 1 readily understands the store's card payment policy based on the notice (see Figure 4.2). When Customer 1 conveys the store policy to Customer 2, he employs "minimum" (line 9) rather than "limit" ("has to be ten dollar minimum:¿," line 10). This particular word choice accords with most of the signs that notify the stores' payment policy as shown in Figure 4.5. Thus, the customer's formulation of the store policy (line 10) attests to the expression used on the notice being idiosyncratic from more conventional ways of indicating a minimum purchase policy for card transactions (also see the customer who uses "minimum" in initiating repair on Minji's informing practice shown in Excerpt 7.8 in Section 7.4.2).

While Excerpt 4.4 presents ethnographic evidence for the idiosyncratic nature of the written version of the policy on the notice, the excerpt below illustrates the participant orientation to the use of *limit* on the notice. Excerpt 4.5 begins when Minji greets the customer (line 1).

[Excerpt 4.5, case 3, recording #3, 01/11/2013]

```
01    MJ:   ((bows))
02          (2.0)
            MJ: calculates the total

03    MJ:   dollar ↑te:n=
04    C:    =and uh: one::::, phone car:d (0.3)
05          mas[ter please[::
                          +turns/moves to the right
06    MJ:       [what?    + [mast-
07          (5.1)
            MJ: brings a phone card to the counter

                    +picks up credit card
                       + PT notice
08    MJ:   °six +te+:n↑°=
```

+GZ/PT notice (F1) +leans toward notice (F2) +GZ C (F3)

09 → +=yeah- +we +limit te:n under +twenny centu charge:

C: +GZ right side (F1) +GZ notice (F2) +GZ notice (F3)

Frame 1.

Frame 2.

Frame 3.

10 → oke[: ?]

+frown/GZ notice

11 → C: +[what,]

12 → (1.6)

C: silently reads the notice (F4)

MJ: retracts her head (head duck) and then crouches & GZ C (F4)

Frame 4.

+GZ notice

13 → C: +˚for under˚

14 → (0.5)

C: silently reads the notice

MJ: GZ C

+GZ C

15 → MJ: +only [twenty cents +charge

C: +GZ the notice +GZ MJ

+shakes head

16 → C: [+only f-

+nod +shakes head

+GZ notice

17 → + only+ five

MJ: +smile

18 → (1.4)

MJ: sticks head out/puzzled face

C: GZ notice with eyes squinted

After brining an item to the check-out counter, the customer requests an additional item (lines 4-5). Minji provides the item and revises the total amount owed (line 8). Minji immediately informs the store policy in lines 9-10 as Minji treats the credit card on the table that the customer placed as the selected payment method. In informing, Minji uses the fixed multi-unit expression and incorporates the notice through her gaze and pointing as shown in Frames 1-3.

The customer immediately begins to look at the notice after Minji looked and pointed at the notice (line 9) and initiates repair in overlap with the end of Minji's turn (line 11). The customer then reads the notice for more than 2 seconds (lines 12-14). As the customer continues reading the notice without responding to Minji's informing turn, Minji repeats the amount of the transaction fee with an emphasis on its small amount (line 15). In lines 16-17, the customer contests the imposition of the transaction fee by asserting that the amount added by the additional purchase of the phone card (lines 4-5) is five dollars, implying that the total does not exceed the ten-dollar limit. This reveals the customer's understanding of the policy is based on the literal meaning of *limit* on the notice.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter I attempted to contextualize the store's card payment policy at Teru's Mart and describe Minji's practices for the informing of the store policy configured by the sequential position of the occurrence of informing and the customers' epistemic status regarding the store's card payment policy. The analysis provided the details of Minji's informing practices by showing how she differently constructs the informing turn by using the fixed expressions and the notice as a textual object in the first and second positions. The analysis also demonstrated the 30-month stability of Minji's informing practice that involved the use of idiosyncratic fixed expressions in the two modalities despite the fact that they regularly led misunderstanding as illustrated in the analysis of Excerpt 4.5

In the next two chapters, I focus primarily on Minji's successful informing activities to account for the stability of Minji's informing practice. The chapters unveil the reflexive relationship between the repeated successful achievements of understanding and the stability of Minji's practice used for informing customers of the store policy.

CHAPTER 5

CO-CONSTRUCTING UNDERSTANDING IN THE INFORMING SEQUENCE: FOCUS ON CUSTOMERS' EPISTEMIC STATUS

5.1 Background

Stabilization of L2 competence has been described as a state of L2 competence in which development appears to reach a plateau. Such phenomena are argued to be a pervasive feature of L2 development in the wild (Han, 2004, 2011, 2013, 2014; Han & Odlin, 2006; Long, 2003). As discussed in Section 2.4, previous accounts for L2 stabilization tend to be individualistic (Block, 2006; Eskildsen, 2012; Han, 2013; Klein & Perdue, 1992; Lardiere, 2007; Schmidt, 1983; Schmidt & Frota, 1986; Schumann, 1978) with a few exceptions such as Roberts and Simonot (1987) and Norton (2013) who explained the stabilization (or non-development) of L2 competence based on power relations embedded in the micro-context.

Perdue (1993b) exemplified an individualistic approach to L2 stabilization. Perdue studied the processes of both L2 development and stabilization for the migrant workers and indicated satisfaction of communicative needs causes stabilization of L2 competence.

> For some learners, this process [of L2 development] comes to an early halt. They [migrant workers] are either unable or unwilling to further modify their system: their language fossilises. Fossilisation in this sense does not necessarily mean that the learning process has come to an absolute halt. The learner may still enrich his vocabulary, for example. But he does not add features which would lead to a potential structural reorganization. Other learners, however, may do so: they modify the balance reached at some point, and set out to construct a different type of interplay between the various

> organizational principles. Such a venture is a risk, and this might explain why so many learners are reluctant to abandon a variety which, though still far from the target, allows them to express themselves in a way they feel *sufficient* [emphasis added] for their communicative needs. (p. 5)

As can be seen in this quote, Perdue contended that many L2 users do not progress beyond the Basic Variety (BV) because the BV can function sufficiently to fulfill the BV user's communicative needs. Also, Perdue and Klein (1992) considered that L2 development depends on the BV users' communicative style (e.g., a risk-taker vs. a reserved, cautious L2 user). More recent studies also reflect such an individualistic focus. Eskildsen (2012) argued that entrenchment of the use of idiosyncratic MWEs occurs in so far as the MWEs successfully fulfill the intended meaning, which in turn inhibits learning of more target-like MWEs.

While these studies attributed the cause of L2 stabilization to the functional recognizability of idiosyncratic linguistic resources, this chapter, taking a conversation analytic view of understanding as a sequential and co-operative achievement (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984b; Macbeth, 2011; Mondada, 2011; Schegloff, 1988), attempts to account for the stability of the use of the idiosyncratic fixed expressions as a co-constructed phenomenon. Specifically, the analysis provides details of the customers' contributions to the achievement of understanding in the informing sequences by demonstrating how the customers make use of their knowledge of the store's card-payment policy or card payment conventions in Hawai'i during the informing sequences. The analysis in this chapter is guided by the following two research questions:

1. How does the customer draw on his or her own knowledge the store policy in Teru's Mart, or of card-payment conventions in Hawai'i, to make sense of Minji's practice in the informing sequence;

2. How does Minji orient to customers' understanding of the store card-payment policy in the informing sequences?

This chapter begins with a brief review of the topic of epistemics and the concept of progressivity in the CA literature (Section 5.2). I then begin analysis of how the customers utilize their knowledge about card-payment conventions in Hawai'i or the store's card-payment policy in Teru's Mart in recognizing Minji's informing action. Sections 5.3 and 5.4 focus on the informing sequences that Minji initiates in the first position. In Section 5.5, I focus on the informing sequences in which Minji performs informing in the second position. The analysis in this chapter demonstrates cases in which customers produce relevant next action following Minji's informing turn without displaying an orientation to Minji's practice. The findings are summarized and discussed in Section 5.6.

5.2 Epistemic Status and Progressivity as Resources for Action Formation and Ascription

Language and other visible conduct are used as tools to accomplish actions in interaction. Participants ascribe actions to observable practices of speaking and non-verbal conduct in sequence (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1986; Schegloff, 2007). Heritage (2012b) notes that there are at least six key resources used for action formation and ascription (or recognition) (cf. Levinson, 2012): namely, turn design, turn location (i.e., sequential position), embodiment and use of objects, the context of ongoing activities in terms of overall sequence organization, the institutional context and situated identity, and participants' epistemic status. Of particular relevance to this discussion is the role of epistemic status (or access) (Heritage, 2012a; Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011) (Section 4.3) in the processes of action formation and ascription. Thus, this section briefly provides background information on the role of epistemics in interaction.

Epistemic status in interaction refers to participants' positioning in terms of their epistemic access to any specific knowledge that falls within their territories of information (Heritage, 2012b; Stivers et al., 2011). Heritage insightfully identified the role of epistemic status in recognizing a particular action (e.g., requests for information), arguing, "when there is consensus about […] who has primary epistemic status, then this takes precedence over morphosyntax and intonation as resources for determining whether a turn at talk conveys or requests information" (Heritage, 2012a, p. 3).

Likewise, the customers' epistemic status about the store policy appears to contribute to the recognizability of Minji's action during the informing sequences as discussed in section 4.5 As shown in Table 4.4, I indicated marked distributional asymmetry in terms of the occurrence of repair activities between three groups of customers whom Minji informed using primarily three types of formulaic expressions during payment activities.

Six customers whom Minji treats as fully aware of the store's card-payment policy quickly and easily produce relevant next action (e.g., accepting the transaction fee, purchasing more, changing the payment method, or obtaining cash from the ATM at the store or from his or her car). In contrast, 9 of 19 (i.e., 47 %) who initiate the informing sequence or whom Minji treats as unknowing display some interactional trouble recognizing the action being implemented through the combination of the fixed expressions and the reference to the notice. This chapter highlights the contributions of customers' epistemic status to action recognition.

Also relevant to the analysis in this chapter is the concept of progressivity. Progressivity refers to "[m]oving from some element to a hearably-next-one with nothing intervening" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 15) at the level of turn construction (Schegloff, 1979), sequence construction (Schegloff, 2006), and activity construction (Stivers & Robinson, 2006). When intersubjectivity

is assured, progressivity is preferred in interaction (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). Being *preferred* refers to the status of the types of a second pair part that is favored or preferred by a first pair because not all types of second pair parts advance or accomplish the import projected by the first pair (Schegloff, 2007). Evidence for progressivity being preferred in interactions is suggested by the fact that understanding in interaction is indicated through a relevant next action-type. Schegloff (1992, p. 1300) observed: "The understandings are displayed en passant for the most part […], as by-products of bits of talk designed in the first instance to do some action such as agreeing, answering, assessing, responding, requesting, and so on." Heritage (2007) pointed out that demonstrating understanding through a repeat or reformulation is rare in interactions, which led him to arrive at the same conclusion, i.e., that showing understanding in an embedded manner is a preference structure in favor of progressivity in interaction.

Heritage (2007) illustrated how progressivity is oriented to by participants in the context of person reference in the example below. The recipient of person reference tacitly displays recognition by advancing the sequence rather than explicitly displaying his recognition of "Margot."

[Excerpt 5.1, Example (5) from Heritage (2007, pp. 256-257)]

```
 1 Jan:        How'r you.
 2 Edw:        Fi:ne?
 3 Jan:        .h Uh:m I wz ↑wond'RING IF: you'n Ilene w'd like t'come ovuh
 4         ->  fer a (.) drink this evenin:g.h u-↓uh:: (.) Margot has come
 5             fr'm Coventry.
 6             (.)
 7 Jan:        .h And uh::(0.2) Yihknow I thought thet ih-'d (.) be nice
 8             if we could get t'gethuh,
 9             (0.2)
10 ( ):        .hh
11             (0.2)
12 Edw:   =>  Yah. Okay well let me ask her just a moment it depe:nds upon
13             what she's doing hang on.
```

In line 4, Jan refers to a person by using the name, "Margot" as the basis for invitation. The use of name suggests that Margot is assumed to be known to Edward (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). Edward does not respond to the invitation (line 6), and thus Jan pursues a response (line 7). Edward's recognition of Margot is manifested in the response to Jenny's invitation (lines 12-13). This way of showing recognition of the person does not involve an overt formulation of the person who is being referred to.

Heritage (2007) also demonstrated the interactional import created by a lack of sequential progressivity in interaction.

[Excerpt 5.2, Example (7) from Heritage (2007, p. 258)]

```
 1 Dee:       =uh[we're ho[ping that h e: .hhhh (0.3) he:'s cz 'ee sold=
 2 Mar:           [w-      [hhhhh
 3 Dee:       =iz own hou↓:se
 4 Mar:       .gnkplk (.)[ihYe::s::
 5 Dee:                  [↓A:nd it which wz in Frimley:
 6       ->   (0.4)
 7 Dee:       .hh (.) uh:m::n (0.2) that's sort'v the Aldershot.
 8            (0.3)
 9 Dee:       [(        )
10 Mar:       [eeYeh I know roughly where it [is:
11 Dee:                                      [where it is yes,
```

Dee's announcement about her son-in-law's house (lines 1 and 3) meets a click sound and a micro-pause (line 4) rather than a projected action-type such as a news-receipt (e.g., *oh*). Dee orients to the absence of response as an indication of trouble recognizing the location of the house. Thus she specifies the location of the house to repair the recognition trouble (line 5). When this attempt meets a silence (line 6), once again Dee treats the silence as the recipient's persistent trouble recognizing the house. Thus, she further specifies the house by providing its location (line 7). This example demonstrates the import of the absence of response, which deteriorates the sequential progressivity, by showing Dee's self-repairs of the place referent that

evidences Dee's orientations to the lack of sequential progressivity as indications of recognition trouble.

With this perspective, this chapter focuses on the turn following the informing turn that Minji constructs by using the idiosyncratic fixed expressions with the embodied reference to the notice to communicate the store's payment policy, with an understanding that completion of a TCU is an "understanding position," where it is structurally relevant to display understanding (Sacks, 1992b, p. 426, cited in Mondada, 2011, p. 544). Similarly, Schegloff (1992, p. 1300) elucidates next turn as "a locus for the display of many understandings by its speaker—understandings of what has immediately preceded (…) or of what has occurred earlier or elsewhere that nonetheless figures in the turn's talk."

The analyses highlight that the customers produce a relevant next action without a subsequent gap or even in overlap with the informing turn. In other words, the analyses indicate the maximal progressivity of the informing sequences. I account for the action ascription processes in the informing sequence by demonstrating how the customers draw on their existing knowledge of the store's payment policy or some card-payment conventions in Hawai'i. I argue that the repeated flowing progress of the informing sequences reveals to Minji that her practice used for informing is recognized as intelligible and sensible by customers, in light of the preceding discussion on the en passant way of demonstrating understanding. Each relevant next action following Minji's informing turn can be seen to produce social evidences that confirm Minji's practices of doing informing as intelligible, thus being a socially shared method.

5.3 Use of Truncated Fixed Expression

As I discussed in Chapter 4, when Minji informs customers of the store's card payment policy, she uses the fixed multi-unit expression or one of its variants. The analyses of the four

excerpts below focus on Minji's use of truncated practices (the variants) initiating the informing sequence. The analyses demonstrate how the customer's epistemic status contributes to the formation and recognition of the informing action. The first subsection focuses on customers' response after the informing turn and the second shows customers' responses in overlap with the informing turn.

5.3.1 Customer's response after the informing turn

In this subsection I show how the customers recognize Minji's informing turn in a non-problematic way. In addition to highlighting the customer's epistemic status, the analysis demonstrates Minji's normative orientation to informing customers of the payment policy in the payment sequence. The following Excerpt 5.3 is the first case of the 25 informing sequences recorded in the third recording in June 2012.

[Excerpt 5.3 case 1, Recording #3, 06/29/12]

```
                                          + stretches RH toward shelf above
01    MJ:      ↑$hi::[: : :]$ +h h
02    C:             ↑[hi:::]
03          (2.6)
            MJ: takes cigarettes from the shelf
            C: walks in toward the counter
            MJ: puts cigarettes on counter

                     + takes out wallet
04    C:    thank +you:.

            + retracts RH  +nods
05    MJ:   + ahh:   +h you're welcome:↑
06          (3.5)
            C: gives MJ a card
            MJ: moves to POS terminal

07    MJ:   yeah-=
08    C:    =°thank you°
09 ➔        (2.5)
            MJ: swipes card through POS
             C: GZ wallet and then GZ left

            +PT notice
            +GZ C
10 ➔  MJ:   + twenny centu +↓charge¿:
      C:    +GZ left (F1)          +GZ notice (F2)

11          (0.3)
            C: GZ notice

               +waves RH/shakes head
12 ➔  C:    OH+ that's+ fine=
      MJ:                 +GZ toward POS terminal
```

Frame 1.

Frame 2.

+enters the amount on POS terminal
+GZ POS terminal

13 MJ: =+ye:::[(h)(h): ah : h↑
14 C: [that's fine
15 (2.4)
MJ: puts the card on the pack of cigarettes and then pushes them towards C

16 MJ: than:↑kyou
17 (18.4)
C: picks up the card and puts it in a wallet and then puts the wallet and cigarette into the purse
MJ: tears a receipt off from the POS terminal and gives it to C with a pen
C: signs on the receipt
MJ: tears another receipt off from the POS terminal and gives it to C

18 MJ: ˙hh than[kyou:::, good eve]ning:::::
19 C: [thank you have a great day.]

Multiple pieces of evidence indicate that the customer (C) is one of the store's regulars. First of all, Minji (MJ) offers a particular brand of cigarette (Figure 1) when the customer has not specified what brand she wants (lines 1-3). The customer then accepts the cigarettes by thanking Minji (line 4). This service offering demonstrates Minji's knowledge of the customer's preferred cigarette brand.

After this service offer and acceptance sequence, the customer initiates a payment activity by handing a card to Minji without Minji announcing the total (line 6). After taking the card, Minji moves toward the POS terminal and operates it. Minji's use of the POS terminal reconfigures the local participation framework, which refers to "the total configuration of all participants to a gathering relative to a present speaker's talk" (M. H. Goodwin, 1999, p. 178). The customer aligns with the suggested participation framework by waiting, as indicated when she looks at her wallet and later gazing into the middle distance in line 9. Thus, the customer and Minji are temporarily disengaged. In line 9 Minji initiates the authorization process by swiping the card through the POS terminal. This payment activity is organized similarly to how Minji conducts the payment sequence that does not involve the informing sequence as shown in Excerpt 4.1.

At this point, however, Minji suddenly stops entering the total amount on the POS terminal and shifts her gaze to the customer (line 9). While still standing in front of the terminal, her upper body leans to the left toward the customer (line 10, Frame 2). This type of "body torque" (Schegloff, 1998) displays a momentary orientation to the customer embedded in a larger action sequence. This physical posture indicates that she has been engaged in the authorization process but temporarily halted the activity. The fact that Minji suspends the authorization process and then initiates the informing sequence demonstrates her normative orientation to obtaining the customer's agreement on the addition of the transaction fee.

The indication of the transaction fee ("twenny centu ↓charge¿:" in line 10) does not include the information about the rule of a $10 minimum purchase for card transactions, which can serve as the basis for adding the fee. In this sense, the use of this truncated expression shows that Minji has treated the store's payment policy as shared knowledge. The informing is coupled with pointing at the area of "charged" on the posted notice as shown in Frame 3. The rising intonation in the final syllable of "charge¿:" (line 10) solicits the customer's response (Stivers & Rosanno, 2010).

This multimodal package of Minji's practice establishes re-engagement, as evidenced by the customer's shift of gaze to the posted notice (line 10). The customer looks at the notice for a brief moment (0.3-seconds), then quickly treats the truncated practice as doing informing of the store's payment policy and also a request for agreement, signaled by *oh*-prefaced acceptance ("OH that's fine," line 12).

As Heritage (1984a) explained, an *oh*-preface in the context of informing functions as a proposal that "its producer has undergone some kind of change in his or her locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness" (p. 299). In this excerpt, the customer's

oh-preface (line 12) appears to signal a shift in her awareness of the payment policy as reflected in her acceptance with an emphatic non-problematic stance. Acceptance is one of the fitting responses to the proposed sequence, indicating the customer's understanding that Minji's practices enforce the card-payment policy. By responding with an acceptance, the customer displays en passant her understanding of the import of the prior turn. The customer understands the truncated fixed expression without being informed of the required minimum amount for card transactions at the store (cf. the varying minimum amount for card transactions in Hawai'i in Chapter 4). Although it is possible that the customer obtained all the information by reading the notice, it is unlikely that she has made sense of the notice within the 0.3-second silence[14] (line 11). In this regard, the customer's acceptance seems to suggest that she has independent access to the store's payment policy, as also evidenced by Minji's turn design.

Schiffrin (1999) further observed that *oh* indexes its producer's evaluation of information in addition to receipt of information. In line with this study, the customer's response can be analyzed as indicating the customer's orientation to the dispreferred status of Minji's request which places the burden on the customer. This analysis is supported by the emphatic, repeated acceptance, "OH that's fine that's fine" (lines 12 and 14), coupled with hand-wave and head-shake gestures. By unhesitatingly accepting the transaction fee, the customer downplays the burden of the request.

The following excerpt is similar in that Minji uses the truncated expression to construct the informing sequence. We join where the customer brings three drinks to counter from the store's refrigerator (line 11).

[14] Given that college students' average rate of scanning is 600 words per minute (in case of skimming, 450 wpm), it is unlikely that the customer would understand the import of the notice by reading it during the 0.3-second silence (Carver, 1992, p. 87).

[Excerpt 5.4, case 7, Recording #24, 10/17/13]

```
11          (6.7)
            MJ: slight nods ((as a greeting))
            MJ: calculates the total using the cash register
            C: brings items to the counter

            +operating the cash register
12    MJ:   +just moment::::
13          (1.8)
            MJ: calculates the price using cash register

14    MJ:   five ninety s::ixu
15          (0.8)
16    MJ:   no need?
17    C:    ↑no:: I'm (good on) cigarettes [thank you
18    MJ:                                   [eh heh heh hhh

            +LH stretch  +GZ/PT notice      +GZ C/retracts RH (F1)
19 ➔        +$yeah$ +(0.5) $'hh +twenny cen chargee↑$
      C:            +gives credit card
            +nods
20 ➔  C:    +'f course
21    MJ:   yeah::↗

22          (5.4)
            MJ: swipes card through the POS terminal

23    C:    (maybe I get) cigarette tomorrow.
24    MJ:   $tomorrow:?$
25    C:    I said maybe I get cigarette tomorrow↓
26    MJ:   hehuhuhuhuhh $yeah:$
27          (14.3)
28    C:    thank you
29    MJ:   thank you:::::[see you tomorrow
30    C:                  [have a nice day oh yah
31    MJ:   hhhhh
32          (0.7)
33    C:    it'll be Friday
34    MJ:   yeah::
35    C:    but I have work Sa:turday:
36          [so my Friday] is your friday
37    MJ:   [yeah h h h h yeah:::: [hhh
38    C:                           [okay bye bye
```

Frame 1.

Note. A point of sale terminal (POS terminal) is an electronic device used to process card payments at retail locations.

As the customer approaches the check-out counter with items, Minji initiates the payment activity by calculating the total purchase (lines 11-13), which she announces (line 14). Minji then glances up at the shelf (in line 15) where cigarettes are stocked and utters "no need" with rising intonation (line 16). The customer treats this practice as a preliminary to offering service,

indicated by his declining the pre-offer (line 17). This response takes the shape of dispreferred status, as he acknowledges a potential need for cigarettes in the future (line 23). This proactive attempt at service offering displays Minji's knowledge of the customer's previous purchase pattern, which suggests that the customer is a store regular.

In line 14, the customer pulls out a credit card from his wallet. Minji treats this emboded action as the selection of payment method and acknowledges it with "yeah" (line 19). Instead of initiating the authorization process, Minji initiates the informing sequence (line 18) as the total is less than $10 (line 14). As can be seen in line 19, she employs the same embodiment and truncated fixed expression to inform the customer of the policy. First, she looks at and points to the notice as shown in Frame 1 (line 19), thus drawing the customer's attention to the notice. Second, she notifies the customer of the amount of the transaction fee without providing the information about the minimum-charge policy. Thus, the use of the truncated fixed expression indicates Minji's analysis of the customer's epistemic status as knowing about the store policy. Similar to the previous analysis of Excerpt 5.3, the customer accepts the transaction fee with a strongly affiliative response "of course" with nodding (line 20). In doing so, the customer dismisses the alternative option of noncompliance with the payment policy (e.g., contesting or refusing) (Stivers, 2011).

5.3.2 Customer's response in overlap with the informing turn

The excerpt below (5.5) is similar to the previous one, in that the customer accepts the transaction fee in response to Minji's truncated practice. But the customer in this subsection accepts the fee overlapping the informing turn. The excerpt was recorded toward the end of the observation period in September 2014 (recording #43). It begins when the customer enters the store and exchanges greetings with Minji, lines 1 to 3.

[Excerpt 5.5, case 21, Recording #43, 09/12/14]

01 MJ: ↑hi::-
02 (0.5)
03 C: how'sit
04 (65.1)
MJ and RS in conversation.
05 (5.8)
MJ: calculating the total
C: holds a card
MJ: GZ card

+GZ/PT notice (F1) **+GZ C (F2)**
06 ➔ MJ: +>twenty centu +charge<[( )
+nods/PT notice (F2)
07 ➔ C: [yeah +that's okay.
+turns head to the right/moves to the right

Frame 1.

Frame 2.

08 MJ: h h h
09 (7.8)
MJ: operates the POS terminal
MJ: returns credit card to C

10 C: thank you↑
11 MJ: °yeah:°

The customer selects items and places them on the check-out counter (line 4). Minji begins to calculate the total purchase, thereby initiating the payment activity. At this point, the customer offers a card as the chosen payment method (line 5). Minji glances at the card, then takes it while at the same time initiating the informing sequence through the truncated fixed expression, i.e., indicating the surcharge amount ("twenty centu charge"), with gazing and pointing at the notice as shown in Frame 2 (line 6). Minji uses exactly the same gestures and the truncated fixed expression to construct the informing sequence as shown in Excerpts 5.3 and 5.4. Use of this truncated expression does not include information about the minimum purchase for card transactions at the store. This shows that Minji assumes that the customer is aware of the policy.

At the point where Minji produces “twenty centu” (line 6), the customer nods *in overlap*. The customer does not read the notice but points to it while nodding, thus incorporating the notice into as part of the action to which he is responding. This nodding can be seen as accepting, that is a relevant next action to the request. Thus, the nodding displays his understanding of the action being implemented by Minji’s practice. He shows no trouble treating Minji’s truncated fixed expression and the use of the notice as enforcing the store’s payment policy.

Unlike previous excerpts 5.3 and 5.5 where the customers briefly glanced at or pointed to the notice posted at the check-out counter, many customers do not pay attention to the notice while they produce acceptance in overlap with or with no gap following Minji’s informing turn. The following two excerpts illustrate this case.

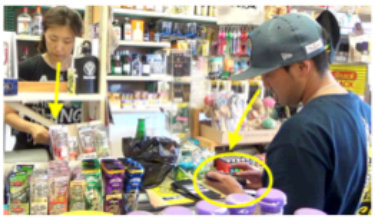
Prior to activity in the excerpt below, the customer picked up a drink from a refrigerator by himself (i.e., self-service, Traverso, 2001). Minji greets the customer (line 1) as he approaches the counter, and he returns her greeting (line 2). Minji then initiates the payment activity by calculating the total cost (line 3).

[Excerpt 5.6, case 11, Recording #32, 03/13/14]

```
01      MJ:   hi:::
02      C:    hi
03            (7.3)
              MJ: calculates the items
              C: puts items on counter

04      MJ:   fi:ve eighty °five.°
05            (6.3)
              MJ: puts items in bag
              C: gives MJ a credit card

                    +GZ/PT notice (F1) +GZ C          +GZ down
06 ➔    MJ:   +twenny     +centu +char+ge¿
        C:                         +nods
07 ➔          (7.5)
              MJ: operates the POS terminal (F2)
              C: takes out cell phone from right pocket and looks at the cell phone (F2)
```

Frame 1.

```
08    MJ:   this rice:u (0.3) good
09    C:    yeah I [like it [hh    [easy
10    MJ:          [yeah     [hhhh [I like it.
11    MJ:   [hhhhhh
12    C:    [hhhhh     (sae)
13    MJ:   yeah:
14    C:    hh
15          (11.9)
16    C:    thank you:
17    MJ:   thank you::::
18    C:    oh- sorry. [hh
19    MJ:              [ai
20          (4.0)
21    MJ:   ah:
22    C:    alright
23    MJ:   bye
```



Frame 2.

In line 6, Minji announces the total purchase amount, making payment the relevant next. The customer gives Minji a card (line 5), which Minji accepts as the selected payment method. Since the total owed is less than $10, she does not request an authorization from the credit card company that would require swiping the credit card through the POS terminal. Instead, she utters, "twenny centu charge¿" (line 6) in upward intonation without providing information about the minimum for a card transaction. How Minji informs the customer of the store's payment policy through this truncated fixed expression is almost identical with what was described in the analyses of Excerpts 5.3 (near the beginning of the data collection in June 2012) and 5.5 (toward the end of data collection in September 2014).

Use of the truncated fixed expression further reveals that Minji treats the customer as knowledgeable about the store policy. The full fixed multi-unit expression consists of nine words (*yeah we limit ten under twenny centu charge okay*) whereas this truncated fixed expression consists of only three to four words (*twenny centu charge [okay]*). As a result, the truncated expression facilitates efficiency for the construction of the informing sequence as the supposedly redundant regulatory information is omitted.

While producing the truncated fixed expression (line 6), Minji looks at and points to the notice as shown in Frame 1. In this way, Minji invites the customer's attention to the notice, which proposes an "embodied participation framework" (C. Goodwin, 2007, p. 56). However, the customer's response does not align with this proposed embodied participation framework; instead, he accepts the transaction fee by nodding *in overlap* with Minji's utterance. Minji understands this nod as agreeing to the fee and thus initiates the authorization process at the end of her turn over the production of "ge" in line 6 (see Frame 1). As can be seen, this coordination of the informing sequence and the transition from the informing sequence to the main payment activity occurs in an extremely smooth manner.

The nodding in overlap with the prior turn shows that the customer recognized the import of Minji's truncated fixed expression as informing him of the store policy. Moreover, the customer does not attend to the notice as suggested by Minji's embodiment, showing that he treats the notice as unnecessary to understand Minji's truncated fixed expression as enforcing the store policy. In this way he maximizes the progressivity of the informing sequence. Taken together, the ways in which the customer accepts the transaction fee demonstrates that he had previous knowledge of the in-store payment policy.

To summarize, the analyses of the four excerpts in this section showed how Minji informs customers by indicating the amount of transaction fee through the truncated fixed expression and embodied reference to the notice posted at the check-out counter in the first position. Although Minji does not include information about the minimum purchase for card transactions, which is of the basis for charging for the transaction fee, all customers in the data in this section produced relevant next action (i.e., approval of the fee). Some approved the transaction fee in overlap with Minji's informing turn (Excerpts 5.5 and 5.6). Others treated the

transaction fee in a strongly unproblematic manner through hand-waving and a head-shake gesture [Excerpt 5.3] or "of course" [Excerpt 5.4]). These unproblematic approvals on the transaction fee charged without an account for the imposition suggest that the customers actively made use of their knowledge of the store policy either based on their previous experience of transactions at the store or other stores which have similar card-payment policies.

As the customers apply their knowledge in recognizing actions implemented by Minji's practices, they do not read the notice as a way to facilitate the progressivity of the informing sequence. The customers in this section smoothly produce relevant next actions. Through the relevant action in the following turn, they display their understanding of Minji's practices as the action of informing them of the store's payment policy. Minji experiences repeated successful achievements of understanding co-constructed by customers who utilize their knowledge of the store policy. Minji appears to treat the understanding displays as evidence of the intelligibility and usefulness of the truncated expressions for the action of informing. This claim is corroborated by the extended stability of Minji's truncated practice in constructing the informing sequence in the first position with knowing customers (see Table 4.2).

Following is analysis of the cases in which Minji informs unknowing customers of the store's card payment policy in the first position; but the customers still draw on their existing knowledge of the store policy or general card payment conventions in Hawai'i.

5.4 Use of Full Fixed Multi-unit Expression

More than half of the unknowing customers (8 out of 14) appearing in the data successfully recognize Minji's use of the fixed multi-unit expression as informing them of the store's card payment policy. The three excerpts below in this section describe the processes of action formation and ascription in which Minji uses the idiosyncratic fixed multi-unit expression.

Excerpt 5.7 is extracted from recording #23 collected in October 2013. In the data Minji offers a service that the customer requested in lines 4 to 27. The analysis shows that although Minji treats the customer as being unfamiliar with the store's payment policy, as indicated by her use of the fixed multi-unit expression, the customer nevertheless turns out to have independent access to the knowledge of the store policy. The excerpt below begins as Minji greets the customer entering the store.

[Excerpt 5.7, case 6, Recording #23, 10/03/13]

```
29    MJ:   nine o nine:
30          (0.3)
31 ➔  MJ:   *yea:::* we limi te:n under tw[enny °cen charge° okay↑
32 ➔  C:                                  [yeah
33          (20.8)
            MJ: swipes card through the POS terminal and operates the POS terminal

34    MJ:   um um
35          (3.8)
            C: signs
            MJ: gives C the receipt

36    C:    here we go
37    MJ:   thank ↑you:::[::
38    C:                [>thank you<
39          (1.7)
40    MJ:   bye:
41    C:    by:e:
```

Note. This transaction was only audio-recorded due to the malfunction of the video camera.

After the service offering and acceptance sequence (in the omitted lines 4 to 28), Minji announces the total payment due (line 29). The customer hands Minji a credit card (line 30). After receiving the card, Minji does not swipe the card through the POS terminal to initiate the authorization process. Because the purchase total is under $10, she instead informs the customer of the store's card payment policy (line 31).

Minji uses the multi-unit expression: "*yeah:::* we limit te:n under twenny cen charge okay↑" (line 31). This practice for informing of the in-store card payment policy contrasts with how Minji explains the policy, as demonstrated in Section 5.3. The use of the multi-unit

expression includes information about the required minimum at the store. This way of informing thus demonstrates Minji's analysis of the customer's epistemic status as unknowing about the store's card payment policy.

The customer responds to the prior turn *in overlap* (line 32) at which a transition-relevance place is not projected, syntactically, prosodically, nor pragmatically (Sacks, et al., 1974). At this point when the customer provides a confirmation token, Minji informed the minimum purchase policy but has not conveyed the conditional use of card payment with the addition of 20-cent transaction fee. Yet, the confirmation token *in overlap*, that is what Jefferson (1983) called "recognitional overlap", displays an orientation "not so much to completeness as to adequacy. Roughly, although 'an utterance' has not been 'completed', that which is being said within and through it has been made perfectly available" (p. 12). The question then is how the customer grasped the import of the not-yet-fully-realized-TCUs of the informing action.

In light of Garfinkel's view of understanding as operation, the answer to the above question is that the customer's recognition of Minji's practices of informing involved the inferential practice based on their repeated experiences of previous similar service encounters, that is, the "documentary method of interpretation" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 78**).** This analysis is corroborated by the sequential position where the customer's acceptance is produced in relation to the informing turn. The analysis accounts for the co-constructed nature of understanding in the informing sequence. While the understanding is largely based on the customer's inferential practice, this successful achievement of understanding, as displayed in the customer's relevant next action, provides Minji with evidence of the practical objectivity of the work of informing as an instance of intelligible, thus, socially shared L2 English use in this informing sequence.

The next example further illustrates the customer's use of existing knowledge in recognizing the practice of informing of the store policy. Excerpt 5.8 occurred about 10 months after the events in Excerpt 5.7. As shown, Minji continues to inform customers of the store's payment policy by using the same fixed multi-unit expression with the same embodiment. The excerpt begins where the customer requests information through a polar question in line 6.

[Excerpt 5.8, case 20, Recording #42, 08/22/14]

06 C: 'd you ↑guys have- (0.4) (per bullets) for that?
07 (1.1)
08 C: the: just- only this?
09 MJ: yeah yeah=
10 C: =o:: ke.
11 (7.8)
12 (84.7)
MJ and MJ's daughter in conversation

13 MJ: ↑hi::
14 C2: ↑hello↓ ((two customers enter))
15 (7.1)
16 (5.2)
C: puts items on the check-out counter
MJ: calculates the total price

17 MJ: two ↓nineny↑
18 (8.9)
C: takes out wallet from a bag, and pulls out a card from a wallet
hands a card to MJ

+PT/GZ notice (F1) +GZ C **+GZ/moves to POS terminal**
19 ➔ MJ: yo- [>+we limi +ten °un-++twence +charge?°<
C: **+GZ notice (F1)** **+slightly nods**
+eyebrow flash (F2)

Frame 1.

Frame 2.

20 ➔ C: [yeah-
21 (16.4)
MJ: operates the POS terminal
C: GZ right

22 C: oh there's uh sign ah?
23 MJ: yeah

24 (8.3)
C: signs on the receipt

After the information request sequence on some items in lines 6-10, the customer goes to the back of the store to select items (lines 11-12) while Minji and her daughter have a conversation. In line 16, the customer comes back and puts the selected items on the check-out counter while Minji calculates the total payment due, thus initiating the payment activity. In line 17, Minji announces the total due, and the customer silently hands a credit card to Minji (line 18). The total amount is less than $10, so, while taking the card, Minji initiates the informing sequence using the fixed multi-unit expression: "we limi ten °un- twence charge?°<" (line 19).

Immediately after Minji produces "yo-" and gazes and points (line 19), the customer looks at the notice as highlighted in Frame 1 and responds with "yeah" (line 20). The response token "yeah" appears to be a response to Minji's, mistakingly treating "yo" (line 19) as summoning. It also appears that Minji briefly treats this "yeah" as acceptance of the store policy, as evidenced in the way that Minji's voice trails off while producing the fixed multi-unit expression (°un-° in line 19). However, she continues producing the turn (°twence charge?° in line 19) as she sees the customer looking at the notice. This shows that Minji treats customers' embodied orientation to the notice as *evidence* of that the customer has not grasped the import of the informing turn. In fact, customers' visible attention to the notice as exemplified here, which halts the progressivity of the informing sequence, is an important resource for Minji to conduct the informing sequence. (I provide a detailed discussion of customers' visible orientation to the notice in Chapters 6 and 7).

Returning to the analysis of Excerpt 5.8, by the time Minji finishes producing "we limi ten" (line 19), the customer makes a slight nod, widens his eyes, and raises his eyebrows as highlighted in Frame 2. Minji treats the constellation of the visible conduct as acceptance. Accordingly, she fades away in producing the remaining TCUs "°un- twence charge?°" and at

the same time initiates the authorization process by looking down at and moving toward the POS terminal (line 19). Similar to the customer in Excerpt 5.7, the customer in this example responds in overlap with the prior turn before the amount of the transaction fee is announced. Thus, the customer's acceptance indicates that he is drawing on his knowledge of the in-store payment policy[15]. In line 21, while waiting for Minji to finish the payment authorization process, the customer does not read the notice at all.

In sum, this type of customer behavior (i.e., acceptance) is a relevant next action-type for the action being built by Minji's fixed multi-unit expression and visible conduct. This instance of a successful informing sequence provides Minji with evidence of the intelligibility of Minji's practices. This argument is supported in the way that Minji continues to use the same fixed multi-unit expression and the fixed multi-unit expression in the subsequent informing sequence as shown in Excerpt 5.9.

The final example most clearly illustrates how the customer unproblematically recognizes Minji's practic as informing her about the store's card payment policy. The successful recognition of the practices involves utilizing her existing knowledge of the policy. The following data comes from the Recording #40, obtained toward the end of the data collection period (July 2014). The excerpt begins where the customer makes an additional request for a pack of cigarettes.

[Excerpt 5.9, case 19, Recording #40, 07/25/14]

[15] The customer looked at the notice for about 530 milliseconds in overlap with Minji's informing turn (line 19). Given that educated L1 readers can recognize a word less than 100 milliseconds (Grabe, 2009), it is a possibility that the customer looked at the area of the notice that Minji pointed at and gained information about the amount of the transaction fee. As discussed in Chapter 6, the notice is a crucial resource for the formation and recognition of the informing action. If the customer recognized the import of the informing turn based on the notice, his recognition still confirms the co-constructed nature of the achievement of understanding which serves as evidence of the socially shared nature of the practices of doing informing for Minji.

25 C: =can I have um: yu esei gold?=one?
26 (0.5)
27 MJ: gold gol[- ah: menthol↑
28 C: [(one).
29 (5.8)
30 MJ: ↑eight thirty↓
31 (0.9)
C: gives MJ credit card

Frame 1.

+GZ notice +PT notice (F1) +GZ C
32 ➔ MJ: yeah.+(0.3) +we limi +ten +under
C: +GZ down +big nod/GZ down

+moves to credit card machine
33 ➔ +twenny °+cen- +charge?°=
C: +nods/GZ down +nods

34 MJ: =m thank you↑
35 (22.5)
MJ: operates the POS terminal

36 MJ: tha[n:k you: :] : :
37 C: >[thank you<]
38 MJ: have a good weekend:::
39 C: you too

In lines 25-29, the customer and Minji exchange a service-request and service-offering. Minji announces the total purchase amount in line 30. The customer submits a card to Minji (line 31) which Minji treats as the selected payment method for the transaction at hand. Because the total is less than $10, Minji initiates the informing sequence using the fixed multi-unit expression and embodiment. First, she initiates a new sequence by claiming speakership through "yeah" (Jefferson, 1984). Then she draws the customer's attention to the notice by her gaze shift, a leaning and pointing gesture toward the notice as shown in Frame 1 (line 32). Minji then monitors the customer's understanding by shifting her gaze to the customer while simultaneously delivering the fixed multi-unit expression: "we limit ten under twenty °cen- charge?°" (lines 32-33). By including the minimum amount for card transactions, Minji treats the customer as someone unfamiliar with the store policy.

In overlap with Minji's production of "under" (line 32), the customer accepts the transaction fee as conveyed by multiple nods (line 33). The store policy regarding the amount of

the transaction fee has not been conveyed at the place where the customer produces the initial nodding in line 32. The customer continues nodding in overlap with Minji's turn (lines 32-33), thus treating Minji's continuing turn as unnecessary in a similar way that multiple sayings treat a prior turn (Stivers, 2004).

Minji treats the multiple nods as an acceptance to the fee, and thus her voice trails off in producing the latter part of the multi-unit expression while moving toward the POS terminal before she finishes her informing turn in line 33. Minji responds to the customer's acceptance with thanks (line 34) while operating the terminal (lines 34-35). In doing so, she advances the payment activity. Although Minji has treated the customer as unknowing about the in-store payment policy, the customer accepts the transaction, revealing her knowing status. The customer unproblematically recognizes Minji's practice as doing informing her of the store's payment policy, thus imposing the transaction fee, by drawing on her knowledge of the in-store payment policy.

The customer's understanding of Minji's informing action is displayed through the embodied approval (i.e. nodding). This way of demonstrating understanding does not involve a repeat or reformulation of Minji's spoken informing practice which may provide more targetlike reformulation of the idiosyncratic fixed expression or the text on the notice as was the case in Excerpt 4.4 (Brouwer et al., 2004; Jefferson, 1987). By producing a relevant next action, the customer confirms Minji's practices as intelligible, sensible, recognizable, and thus socially shared. Minji continually employs the multi-unit expression to inform customers, when they are assumed not to know the store's payment policy, of the policy over the period of 30 months.

5.5 Informing in Second Position

Previous Sections 5.3 and 5.4 focused on Minji's initiation of the informing sequence, showing how the customers' own knowledge of the store's payment policy contributes to the successful recognition of Minji's practice used for informing of the store policy. The findings demonstrated how the repeated achievements of understanding during the informing sequences provided Minji with social evidence of the intelligibility of her practices which contributes to the stability of her practices of doing informing in the first position.

The following excerpt illustrates Minji's informing practice occurring in the *second* position in response to customers' requests for information about the store's card policy. The analysis also shows that customers draw on knowledge in recognizing the action Minji implements through her stable (embodied) practice. This excerpt was analyzed earlier, in Section 4.4 to illustrate Minji's informing practices in the second position. It was recorded near the end of the data collection period in September 2014, extracted from Recording #44. Earlier, Minji used a similar variant of the fixed expression ("yeah yeah but we limit ten:"), which will be shown in Excerpt 6.6 (Section 6.4), to communicate the store policy in the second position. The excerpt starts where the customer checks the availability of a particular item ("reds" in line 2) that is not available at the store (lines 7-9).

[Excerpt 5.10, case 22, Recording #44, 09/26/14]

```
01    R:    ([                      ]
02    C:     [you guy- (0.8) you guys have some (reds)
03    MJ:    [m yeah-
04          (0.6)
05    MJ:   yeah?
06    C:    reds
07    MJ:   ye:ah [sorry
08    C:          [no more.[     [oh (watch) water ]
09    MJ:                  [yeah [no more $so:rry.$]
10    C:    okay
11          (0.8)
12    C:    ahm:: what else did I need to prepare.=
13    MJ:   =yeah::hha[hah
14    C:              [ahm:
15          (2.8)
16    MJ:   kulenikka:.
              so
```

```
17          (9.4)
18          (5.8)
            MJ: calculates the total payment using cash register

19    MJ:   ↑three ↓ninety↑ se↓ven:::
20          (4.9)
21 ➔  C:    is there minimum amount of- (0.3) card¿
22 ➔  MJ:   yeah ten limit:
23    C:    oh: shoot okay
24    MJ:   °°ten limit↑°°
25          (0.8)
26 ➔  C:    that's okay I gotta go get cash $the(h)n$
27    MJ:    h[hhh
28    C:       [hhh h tha(h)nk you(h)
29    MJ:   thank you↑
```

Note. The data in this excerpt was only audio-recorded due to the malfunction of the video camera.

As the customer approaches the check-out counter, Minji begins to add up the purchases (line 18) and announces the total cost in line 19. The customer unsuccessfully tries to find cash (line 20) and then inquires about the minimum amount for card transactions, rather than paying the purchase by card (line 21). The general retail customs for a minimum purchase for card transactions in Hawai'i were described in Section 4.1. The customer's request for information indicates that the customer has independent epistemic access to some card payment conventions in Hawai'i. By the same token, this information-seeking question reveals that the customer is not familiar with the particular card payment policy at Teru's Mart.

In line 22, Minji produces a type-conforming response, confirming that a minimum purchase is required for card transactions at the store, with "yeah" and then specifies the transaction amount with "ten limit." In this response, Minji employs "limit" as a noun, although it is not clear whether she is aware of this grammatical category. However, the use of "limit" is a misuse because *limit* as a noun can be defined as "a boundary which may not be passed, or beyond which something ceases to be possible or allowable" (limit, n.d.-b). In other words, *limit* refers to a *maximum*.

The customer does *not* orient to the literal meaning of the word *limit*. Rather, she simply treats the response as the sought-for information indicated by *oh*-prefaced ("oh shoot okay" in line 23) acknowledgement. In other words, the customer treats Minji's use of a truncated fixed expression as a recognizable and relevant next action to her request-for-information. This is probably because the customer treats the amount, "ten," as specification of the minimum amount after confirmation of the existence of minimum ("yeah") in the question-and-answer sequence.

The customer appears to conclude that she is not allowed to make a purchase for less than "ten" dollars. The production of "shoot" indicates that the store policy causes her some inconvenience because she concludes that she cannot purchase the items she had picked out. This analysis is corroborated by the abandonment of the transaction (line 26), because it appears that the customer does not have enough cash with her. Abandonment of the transaction exhibits the customer's understanding of the in-store payment policy based on Minji's response. However, this understanding is not adequate in light of the actual payment policy that customers *can*, in fact, use a card to make a less-than-$10 by accepting a 20-cent transaction fee. Minji does not, however, appear recognize the way the customer understands the policy although the customer might have accepted the transaction fee to complete the purchase. Because the response constitutes one of possible relevant next actions, Minji treats the customer as having understood her practice of informing and thus participating in the mutual laughter (lines 26-28) for doing affiliation (Jefferson, 1984) that the customer invites in remedying potential disaffiliation after the dispreferred response (i.e., cancelling the transaction).

5.6 Summary and Discussion

This chapter demonstrated how Minji co-constructed the informing sequences with customers by using the idiosyncratic fixed expressions. This section discusses the findings in

light of the two research questions presented at the beginning of the chapter, which are addressed below:

1. How does the customer draw on his or her own knowledge the store policy in Teru's Mart, or of card-payment conventions in Hawai'i, to make sense of Minji's practice in the informing sequence?

In Section 5.1, I indicated that the literature on L2 stabilization points to satisfaction of communicative needs as one of the major factors in the process of L2 stabilization (Eskildsen, 2012; Han, 2004; Klein & Perdue, 1992; Perdue, 1993a, 1993b). For example, Perdue argued that the BV was sufficient for some of the migrant workers to meet their communicative needs. Eskildsen (2012) took a similar point of view, noting that a MWE ("you no write") successfully fulfilled the intended meaning for Valerio (a Mexican Spanish-speaking learner of L2 English). These studies explained that the L2 users' idiosyncratic linguistic resources (or system) were relatively transparent for communicative purposes at hand despite their ungrammatical and unconventional linguistic forms. However, the limitations of such an account is noticeable when analysis is expanded to consider the nature of co-constructed interaction and to include the agentive, cooperative, and consequential co-participants. The analysis in this chapter demonstrates that Minji differently designed the informing turn based on the customers' assumed epistemic status about the store's payment policy. The analysis also shows that the customers drew on their knowledge of the store policy or the general card payment conventions in Hawai'i when responding to Minji's practices used for enforcing the store policy in the first and second positions.

The majority of the conversation analytic work on formulaic devices has centered on grammatical or actional projection, which can be understood that "an individual action or part of

it foreshadows another" (Auer, 2005, p. 8). Studies have shown how formulaic devices make available a next relevant action-type or the course of action underway to the recipient(s) to coordinate turn-taking or sequence construction. Such formulaic devices include: list-initiating markers ("first of all," Schegloff, 1982); story prefaces (e.g., "do you know what" or "guess what," Sacks, 1992a, pp. 256-257); pres and pre-pres (e.g., "what are you doing?" as pre-invitation or "can I ask you a question/favor?," as preliminary to preliminary, Schegloff, 2007); what Sacks (1992a) called "first verbs" (p. 181) used for the projection of multi-unit turn (e.g., "was/were going to," Schulze-Wenck, 2005, p. 322); dispreferred response markers (e.g., "yes [or yeah] but," "*ja aber*" in German, and "*jam min"* in Danish Steensig & Asmuß, 2005, pp. 349-356); and what Lerner (1991) called compound turn constructional units (TCUs), a sequential format consisting of segmented units: (e.g., *if X*, *then Y* format and *the more*, *the better* pattern). This chapter extends those findings by demonstrating how projection becomes available based on the customers' experiential knowledge about the card-payment policy.

2. How does Minji orient to customers' understanding of the store card-payment policy in the informing sequences?

The findings also answer the second research question by showing that the customers' understanding of the informing turn is indicated in the form of relevant next actions**:** for example, acceptance of the transaction fee or cancellation of the transaction. The display of understandings during the informing sequences did not involve overt formulations of the informing turns. This en passant way of displaying understanding of the prior turn can be understood in light of the preference for progressivity in interaction. This is because an explicit display of understanding, according to Mondada (2011, p. 544), can be "used for doing other jobs than showing understanding: stating that one understands (or not) can be in service of introducing a complaint,

for asking or offering help, for closing or delaying closure of a task, etc." In this view, the tacit way of displaying understanding in the informing sequences is a way to maximize the sequential progressivity of the informing sequences.

Macbeth (2011) insightfully elucidated the reflexive nature of understanding:

"[t]o take a turn is to *evidence* [emphasis in original] understanding. And as every turn at talk displays an understanding of its prior, perhaps the first measure of common understanding available in the actual social world—and thus for its analysis—is the production of a cogent next turn, on time." (p. 440)

The customers evidence their understanding of Minji's informing action through next relevant actions. Thus, this way of displaying understanding does not involve a repeat or a reformulation of the prior turn (cf. Excerpt 6.7), which may constitute an embedded correction (Brouwer et al., 2004; Jefferson, 1987) although it does not guarantee L2 learning[16]. This finding corresponds to previous research on repair and correction practices observed in the wild that participants in L1 or L2 interactions usually do not orient to grammatical errors unless: (1) those errors impede understanding; (2) the L2 user flags trouble on their own initiative; or (3) the L2 user explicitly seeks help from co-participants (Brouwer, 2003, 2004; Firth, 1996, 2009a; Hosoda, 2006; Kurhila, 2006; Lilja, 2014).

[16] For instance, Wagner (2015) showed how unsolicited correction from an L1 user is unwelcomed and resisted by an L2 user in service encounter interaction at a supermarket. This is resonant with the sequence of exposed correction in which one who is corrected by other orients to correction as an attendant activity as discussed in Jefferson (1987). Kurhila (2006) also described two types of predominant correction format in conversations between nonnative and native Finnish users in the wild. The first type of correction is what she called en passant repair which is done directly by the other (the NS) without trying to get the trouble-source speaker (the NNS) to self-repair, in particular on grammatical deviations; and the other type of repair is embedded correction which is done in the second pair part without opening a side sequence. Brouwer, Rasmussen, and Wagner (2004) focused on embedded corrections, while noting that self-repairs are frequent, and other-initiated or other repairs are scarce on their L2 Danish conversations in the wild. The striking differences between their L2 Danish conversations and L1 English conversations (Jefferson, 1987) regarding embedded corrections include that the trouble-source speakers do not replace the trouble source after correction. Thus, Kurhila's two correction formats do not appear to constitute an L2 learning opportunity.

Garfinkel's (1967) accountability helps understand how customers' display of understanding after Minji's informing turn contributes to the stability of Minji's practices. Garfinkel and Sacks (1986) asserted that "speaking practices" are "inescapably tied to particulars of talk, and thereby speaking practices are, inescapably, exhibited and witnessed as ordered particulars of talk" (p. 174). Co-participants treat speaking practices as the speaker's rational choices among "alternatives of sense, of facticity, of objectivity, of cause, of explanation, of communality of *practical actions* [emphasis in original]" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 32). Because of this principle, the speakers can be held responsible for their actions and to their interlocutors (Koschmann, Stahl, & Zemel, 2007).

The relevant next actions following the informing without a gap or in overlap with the prior turn shown in the analysis displays to Minji that the customers did not exploit repair opportunities. As I indicated in Section 5.2, each transition-relevance place (TRP) following the informing turns is an "understanding position" (Sacks, 1992b, p. 426), where it is structurally relevant for the customers to display understanding of Minji's practices for doing informing. Each TRP also constitutes a repair opportunity space that is "understood [by all] to be there, to have been there, even if not activated" (Schegloff, 1992, p. 1327, cited in Robinson, 2014, p. 112). Robinson's study demonstrated how each unexploited repair-opportunity signals the current speaker that the recipient understood the immediately preceding action in the context of repair activities.

Taken together, it can be seen that every relevant subsequent action following Minji's informing practices without other-initiation of repair constitutes evidences of the intelligibility of the three formats of idiosyncratic fixed expressions used for informing customers who are viewed as being knowledgeable, partially knowledgeable, and unaware about the store policy

during the payment activities. The customers' subsequent relevant action in the routine informing sequences provides Minji with repeated experiential evidence of the customers' view of her as "knowing how to speak" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1986, p. 179). Based on these evidences, Minji continues to employ the idiosyncratic fixed expressions in two modalities to inform customers of the store policy over the 30-month period.

The findings in this chapter are comparable with Nguyen's (2008) developmental study on a pharmacy intern's consultation practices. Nguyen showed how the pharmacy intern changed the ways in which she constructed the organization of patient consultation activities in terms of action structuring, ordering, and transitioning. Nguyen pointed out that problematic local achievements of understanding triggered the restructuring of the routine sequence organization of patient consultation activities. Thus, she argued that sequence organization needs to be seen as a local as well as *longitudinal* achievement on the part of the novice.

In contrast to Nguyen's findings, Minji constructed the informing sequences without problems, and this was because the customers co-constructed the sequences by actively drawing on their knowledge of the store's card payment policy. The customers did not orient to Minji's use of idiosyncratic fixed expressions in pursuit of progressivity in the payment activity. The customers' relevant next actions repeatedly confirmed Minji's practices as intelligible. Thus Minji seems to continue to employ the same fixed expressions to produce the same practice over 30 months.

To reiterate, this chapter provides detailed accounts of the understanding in the informing sequence and reveals that each enterprise of understanding in the informing sequences is co-constructed. The findings demonstrate that the achievements of understanding in the informing sequences largely rely on the customers' epistemic status. The evidence of successful

understanding of the informing turn is repeatedly presented in the form of relevant next actions in the informing sequences. The customers' way of displaying understanding of the prior turn in the informing sequences thus serves as evidences of the intelligibility of Minji's practices. This socially constructed evidence contributes to the stability of Minji's use of idiosyncratic fixed expressions in the two modalities in the routine informing sequences.

The next chapter focuses on successful informing sequences in which customers produce a range of next actions following a (momentary) delay after Minji's practices of doing informing.

CHAPTER 6

EMBODIMENT, TEXTUAL OBJECT, AND STABLIZATION OF THE INFORMING PRACTICE

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that the customers drew on their knowledge of the store's card-payment policy in recognizing Minji's practices as informing them of the store policy. This chapter continues to focus on the successful informing sequences. The analysis highlights customers' orientation to Minji's informing action as being built across the fixed expressions, gestures, and the textual material (i.e., the posted notice). The analysis accounts for the structures of understanding by showing that the customers closely read the notice in understanding the action Minji implements. It is argued that customers' reading of the notice is an organizational consequence of using the textual material in constructing the action of informing. The customers' reading of the notice after Minji's informing turn affect the construction of L2 learning opportunities. The analysis also shows the reflexive relationship between the customers' display of understanding of Minji's informing practices that involve the ungrammatical spoken and written expressions and the stability of Minji's practices over a 30-month period.

This chapter is guided by the following research question: How do Minji and her customers draw on the notice in co-constructing the routine informing sequences through which Minji enforces the store's card-payment policy? The following section provides some brief background for the analysis.

6.1 Embodiment and Textual Objects

Action formation is distributed across the environment, co-participants, objects, bodies (e.g., facial expressions, gesture, and posture), and linguistic resources (C. Goodwin, 2000, 2011,

2013; Nevile et al., 2014). Based on Levinson (2006), Kasper and Burch (2016) described multimodality as part of interactional competence. This is because participants in face-to-face interaction employ and orient themselves to various bodily conduct such as facial expression, gesture, posture, bodily orientations as well as materials in the environment as meaningful semiotic resources in producing and recognizing actions.

The materials include textual objects which also play an integral part of both everyday and workplace interactions (Nissi & Lehtinen, 2016; Rooksby, 2011; Streeck & Kallmeyer, 2001; Svennevig, 2012; Svinhufvud & Vehviläinen, 2013). Mikkola and Lehtinen's (2014) study concluded that textual objects are used to: (1) propose an "embodied participation framework" (C. Goodwin, 2007, p. 56); (2) initiate an activity shift; (3) display epistemic status; and (4) project actions through a pointing gesture. The findings suggest that written documents are integral to interaction and learning.

From a cognitive anthropological perspective, Hutchins (1995) demonstrated the role of written materials in the processes of acquiring professional skills. By using an ethnographic method, he probed into the prevalent use of written procedures in operating the navigation systems of a naval ship and examined the influence of written objects (i.e., written procedure) in acquisition of work-related skills used for operating a naval ship. His analysis detailed how a novice quartermaster learns to watch ocean steam by using a written procedure as a guide, or mediation, for the task. Taking a procedural view of remembering and internalization, he explained the complex learning processes mediated by written procedures as the gradual development of integrating the written procedures into the quartermaster's standard watch procedures.

In the field of second language studies, the role of gestures in interaction has recently received increasing attention (e.g.,Belhiah, 2013; Burch, 2014; Carroll, 2004; Eskildsen & Wagner, 2013, 2015; Greer, 2013; Gullberg, 2006, 2011; Gullberg, De Bot, & Volterra, 2008; Lazaraton, 2004; Mori & Hayashi, 2006; Seo & Koshik, 2010; Smotrova & Lantolf, 2013). Researchers have also looked at the role of inscriptions and textual materials, demonstrating their use for pedagogical and intersubjective purposes (Greer, 2017; Hauser, 2013a; Kääntä, Kasper, & Piirainen-Marsh, 2016; Kunitz, 2015; Markee, 2008, 2011; Markee & Kunitz, 2013; Mori, 2004; Seo, 2011).

Markee (2008), in demonstrating the learning of a vocabulary item, showed that a teacher's use of Powerpoint slides provided a Chinese user of L2 English with initial exposure to the word *prerequisite* in a classroom setting. In another study Markee (2011) focused on a different Chinese user of L2 English but in the same classroom setting. This later study demonstrated that the focal student avoided using *prerequisites* but still successfully made a presentation by using textual materials (i.e. slides). Mori (2004) analyzed interview activities between a L1 Japanese user and two L2 Japanese users in a Japanese language learning course. In her study, one of the two L2 Japanese users requested confirmation regarding applicants' health condition required to include in writing a Japanese résumé. However, this request triggered a lengthy repair sequence due to the L2 user's mispronunciation of *ryookoo* (good) as *yooshi* (form). Mori's study showed how the L2 Japanese user attempted to restore understanding by showing a résumé form to the L1 Japanese user. These studies together demonstrate how textual materials are consequential in constructing understanding and L2 learning opportunities. However, these studies have been limited to a classroom context.

To date, very few studies have examined the role of textual materials in learning L2s in the wild. For instance, Kasper and Burch (2016) focused on spontaneous writing such as tracing *Kanji* characters on a table during spontaneous word-teaching sequences in an informal conversation between two friends (L1 and L2 Japanese user). Hwang (2009) explored "brush talk" (p. 1) described as writing Chinese characters or Japanese *kanji*. Based on conversation-for-learning data, she demonstrated that such writing is used as common repair and learning practices in interactions between L1 Chinese users and Japanese users of L2 Chinese. These studies examined *writing behavior* involved in spontaneous learning activities, demonstrating its contribution to the processes of L2 learning.

This chapter focuses on a textual object in the environment used as a crucial resource for the processes of action formation and recognition and demonstrate its procedural consequences in the organization of informing sequences that affect the construction of learning opportunities. As demonstrated in Section 5.3, all knowing customers in the corpus complied with the store's card-payment policy in overlap, or without a gap, without referring to the notice posted at the check-out counter. By not attending to the notice, which Minji's speaking practice reiterates, they maximized sequence progressivity of the informing sequences. In contrast, the customers in this chapter intently read the notice while delaying responding to Minji's informing turn deployed in first or second position in the informing sequences. The analysis highlights the importance of customers' action in next turn after Minji's informing turn for the stability of Minji's practices used for informing.

6.2 Use of Truncated Fixed Expression and Customer's orientation to the notice

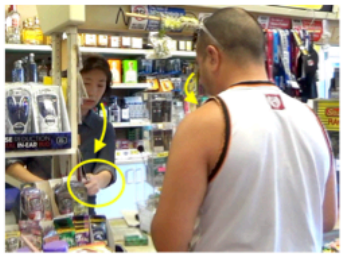
In Excerpt 6.1 below, Minji initially treats the customer as knowledgeable about the store's card-payment policy, but the customer turns out to be unaware of the policy. The analysis

shows how Minji incorporates the notice as a crucial resource in informing of the store policy as well as how the customer accordingly orients to the notice in understanding the action Minji implements. The excerpt begins when Minji provides a pack of cigarettes (line 9) and announces the total amount due in line 10.

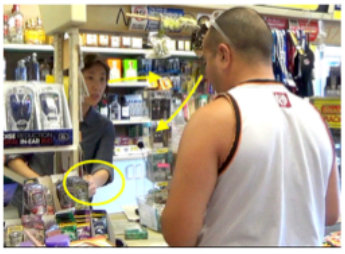
[Excerpt 6.1, case 9, Recording #30, 01/11/14]

10 MJ: eight ↓thirty↑
11 (3.0)
12 C: how mu-
13 MJ: eight thirty.
14 (4.7)
C: gives MJ a credit card

+PT/GZ notice (F1)
+GZ C (F2) **+LH home position**
15 → MJ: yeah+ >twe+nny +centu charge +okay?<
C: **+GZ notice** **+leaning to right (F)**



Frame 1.

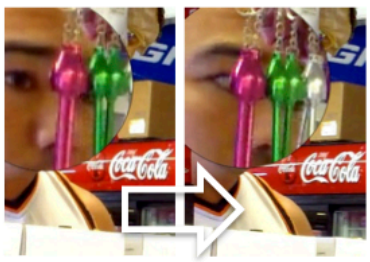


Frame 2.

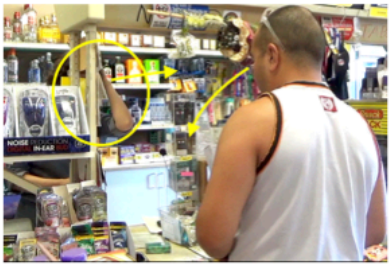
16 → (1.5)
C: slightly leaning to right and GZ notice (F3)
MJ: GZ C (F3)

Frame 3.

+GZ notice + PT "10" **+GZ C** **+PT "20"** **+LH home position**
17 → MJ: +we +limi +ten: under +twenny +centu °char[ge okay?°
C: **+GZ notice** **+GZ MJ** **+eye-rolling (F4)**
+GZ notice
18 → C: [+wah : :



Frame 4.



Frame 5.

19 → (1.7)
MJ: scratches her head (F5)
C: GZ notice (F5)

```
                +slight left head-turn  +slightly nods
20 ➔ C:     +okay           +that's fine.
21   MJ:    (okay)
22          (9.1)
            MJ: operates the POS terminal

23   MJ:    hi::: ((to another customer who just entered))
24          (15.0)
25   C:     thank [you mam
26   MJ:           [thank you:::
```

Note. This data has been analyzed to highlight Minji's ongoing analysis of the customer's epistemic status about the store's card-payment policy in Section 4.4.

After providing a pack of cigarettes requested by the customer (line 9), Minji initiates the payment activity by announcing the total cost (line 10). After a brief other-initiated self-repair sequence regarding the total (lines 12-13), the customer hands a credit card to Minji (Frame 1), and Minji treats this as the selected payment method.

As the amount owed is less than the minimum, Minji initiates the informing sequence through the truncated fixed expression, "twenny centu charge okay?" (line 15). As discussed in Section 4.4, this truncated fixed expression shows that Minji treats the store policy as shared knowledge with the customer. This indicates Minji's orientation to "recipient design" that entails that a speaker should not tell a recipient what he or she already knows (Sacks, 1995). By omitting part of the store's policy, Minji also promotes progressivity of the service encounter.

The structure of this informing sequence shows particularly intriguing aspects when compared to data from other types of service encounters. In her report on the structure of ordering sequence at a sushi restaurant in Los Angeles, Kuroshima (2010) found that the chef explicitly demonstrated his understanding of customers' ordering in the prior turn through repetition, rather than indicating his understanding through confirmation using a minimal acknowledgement token, which would promote sequence progressivity. As such, the structure of ordering sequence at the sushi bar exhibits a distinct organizational preference for

intersubjectivity over progressivity. Kuroshima argued, it was only in a limited sequential environment where the chef used minimal confirmation such as *haiyo* (okay) to indicate his understanding. She elucidated that the import of this sort of preferring progressivity embodies the chef's trust and confidence in the achievement of appropriate mutual understanding in the ordering sequences at the sushi bar.

The truncated verbal practice (line 15) Minji employs for informing visibly embodies an organizational preference for progressivity over intersubjectivity, when compared to her use of the full fixed multi-unit expression in informing sequence involved in unknowing customers. Similar to the import of maximizing sequence progressivity in the ordering sequence through a minimal confirmation in second position to the ordering turn in Kuroshima (2010), the truncated practice in first position embodies Minji's orientation to maximizing the progressivity of the informing sequence and exhibits Minji's expectation of and confidence in the achievement of mutual understanding (cf. Bilmes, 2014).

In contrast to the chef example in Kuroshima's study (2010), Minji employs an additional resource, that is, the notice (Fig. 4.2) to ensure intersubjectivity. As can be seen in line 15, with her finger, Minji indicates the "20¢" printed in red on the notice (Frame 1), at the same time saying "twenny." Minji initially looked at the notice and then at the customer to monitor the customer's orientation to the notice and his response to her initiating action (see Frame 3). This pointing leads to three practical outcomes. First, the notice, part of the complex setting (Figure 6.1), is identified as relevant to the ongoing action sequence, corroborated by the customer's subsequent attention to the notice (line 16).

Figure 6.1 Check-out counter and the notice

Secondly, by inviting the customer's attention to the notice, Minji proposes a reconfiguration of the participation framework from the dyadic interaction to the triadic one that includes the customer, Minji, and the notice. This analysis is supported by how the customer turns to and reads the notice captured in Frames 1-3. Finally, by pointing to the "20¢" printed on the notice while at the same time saying out loud, "twenny centu charge" (line 15), the utterance is readily heard as truncated reiteration of the notice. The incorporation of the notice into the action of informing has important consequences for the organization of the informing sequence.

In contrast to the knowing customers who recognized Minji's practices as informing without aligning with the "embodied participation framework" (Goodwin, 2007, p. 56) proposed by Minji during the informing sequences shown in Chapter 5, the customer in Excerpt 6.1 does align with the proposal. Instead of responding to the prior turn designed to be heard as a succinct citation of the notice, the customer leans to his right, presumably to get a better view of the notice, and reads the notice (Frame 3, line 16). This reading after the informing turn thus impedes sequence progressivity, indicating the customer's trouble recognizing Minji's speaking practice, given the preference for minimization of gaps when transferring turns (Sacks et al., 1974). This is evidenced by Minji's self-repair and the repair outcome (lines 17-18).

In terms of the structure of the informing sequence, reading the notice still facilitates sequence progressivity more than initiating repair which would initiate a side sequence that suspends the ongoing informing sequence. At the transition-relevance place in line 16, the customer does not wait for Minji to provide self-repair nor explicitly indicates the problem, for example, by initiating repair. Instead, he resorts to the notice as shown in Frame 3. This next action after the informing turn thus demonstrates the customer's orientation to Minji's action as being built across the utterance and the textual material. In this respect, the customer's focus on the notice can be considered as a gradual way of relaxing the sequential progressivity of the informing sequence comparable to use of try-marking in the context of expected problematic recognition of person-reference discussed in Sacks and Schegloff (1979). The customer attempts to resolve the trouble recognizing Minji's informing turn by reading the notice and thus passes on the transition-relevance place where repair can be initiated on the truncated fixed expression (Robinson, 2014). Minji also orients to the customer's reading as an aligning move with the embodied participation framework Minji proposed in the informing turn.

Gardner (2004) described a set of practices that a first pair speaker employs when a response is relevantly absent in the context of question-and-answer sequences, which he called expanded question sequences (EQSs), based on restaurant conversations between L1 and L2 English speakers. When a question meets a gap, according to Gardner, the questioners orient to delays as potential intersubjective trouble or a dispreference marker. Thus they conduct four types of operations to pursue an answer: namely, a re-phrasing; an increment to the question turn; a modification; or an expansion. The excerpt shows that Minji, who projected an informing sequence through the truncated expression and reference to the notice, initially waits until the customer finishes reading the notice. During the 1.5-second gap (line 16), Minji does not employ

any operation onto the first pair part (i.e., the informing turn). The length of the inter-turn gap (line 16) is longer than the standard maximum silence (i.e., approximately 1.0 second according to Jefferson, 1989) or the mean duration of turn transitions in the context of producing either: (1) dispreferred responses (i.e., around 400 ms) or (2) non-answer responses (i.e., around 600 to 700 ms) in English (Stivers et al., 2009). Minji's initial response to the customer's reading behavior thus demonstrates that she has treated the customer's reading action as an aligning move in light of the embodied participation framework. In this sense, the uninterrupted reading during the gap can be seen as a cooperative achievement by both participants, indicating their shared orientations to resolving the problem of recognizing the action being implemented by Minji's practices.

Results of Svennevig's (2010) study help to elucidate the use of the notice in the informing sequence. He examined two types of verbal practices used for preempting potential problems of recognition of person reference. His analysis demonstrated that the speaker of person reference may relax sequential progressivity by: (1) producing a referring expression with try-marked intonation, thus creating a space for the interlocutor to display recognition; or (2) inserting an explanation or a description within the borders of a single turn (i.e., inside a single TCU or between TCUs in a multi-unit turn) as self-initiated expansions of the turn in progress. These practices are designed to preempt other-initiation of repair, thus leading to maintaining sequence progressivity.

In light of Svennevig (2010), Minji's practice of incorporating the notice in the informing sequence can be viewed as a preemptive device that deals with a potential problem of understanding. This is because the textual material and Minji's verbal practice do not mutually elaborate (cf. Goodwin, 2000). Rather, the verbal contribution, whether the truncated or the full

fixed multi-unit expression, is a short reiteration of the notice. On the customer's part, reading the notice rather than initiating repair on the verbal practice still minimizes the disruption of progressivity in the informing sequence.

The customers' reading of the notice after Minji's informing turn is a distinct organizational pattern that was frequently observed throughout the informing activities over the 30-month period. This pattern is an organizational consequence of Minji's embodied practices that invite customers' attention to the notice as part of informing action. The use of the notice in constructing the informing turn is thus consequential in the ways that customers achieve recognition of the informing turn. The customers do not initiate repair on Minji's verbal practices but rather rely on the notice as a crucial resource for achieving recognition of the informing turn as a way to maintain sequence progressivity.

Minji provides self-repair only after the customer's reading of the notice, which began in line 15, and lasted for a total of 2.6 seconds. In light of the preference for self-correction (Schegloff, et al., 1977) and Minji's monitoring of the customer shown in Frame 5 (line 16), this delayed self-repair confirms that Minji has oriented to the notice as a preemptive device that may deal with possible intersubjective trouble in the informing sequence. The self-repair (line 17) indicates that Minji regarded the source of trouble as the truncated formulation of the policy since the customer lacks knowledge about the minimum amount required for card transactions at the store. Thus, she replaces the trouble-source turn with the fixed multi-unit expression: "we limit ten (.) under twenny centu °charge okay°" (line 17). This revision incorporates the regulatory part of the store policy. Over the production of "ten" and "tewnny," she points at "$10" and "20¢" written in red on the notice, respectively.

Upon hearing the regulatory phrase, "we limit ten," and seeing Minji circles "$10" on the posted notice (line 17), the customer stops reading the notice and turns to look at Minji in overlap with the rest of the self-repair. This shift of attention suggests that the addition of the information of the minimum purchase policy with the reference to "$10" on the notice together resolved the trouble, corroborated by the customer's embodied response in line 17 (Frame 4). The customer does not explicitly display what he understood through a repetition or reformulation. Instead, his understanding of the informing is indicated in the visibly negative emotional stance toward the store policy. He rolls his eyes (Frame 4) and utters "wah" with elongation in low flat intonation (line 18). In this way, the customer displays some sort of exasperation toward the policy.

The customer's disaffiliative response (line 18) evidences that he has grasped the import of the informing turn. Minji withholds a verbal response to this disaffiliative response. Instead she scratches her head shown in Frame 5 during the 1.7-second silence (line 19). This behavior appears to indicate Minji's embarrassment at the customer's outright negative stance, showing that she treats the customer's response as foreshadowing a complaint (Schegloff, 2005). While embarrassingly dealing with the projected complaint, Minji treats this response as evidence of the customer understanding of the informing turn achieved through the self-repair. This analysis is corroborated by the customer's acceptance of the transaction fee with visible reluctance (line 20). The customer's disaffiliative but aligning response ratifies the intelligibility of the fixed multi-unit expression deployed as a repair. This is because next turn is the sequential space where the recipient displays to the speaker how a prior turn has been received and understood.

In the analysis of Excerpts 6.1, I showed how Minji initiated the informing sequence through the truncated fixed expression and the notice. The next section focuses on cases in which

Minji initiates the informing sequence through the full fixed multi-unit expression and the notice. The subsequent three excerpts illustrate how Minji and her customers orient to the notice as part of the resources that construct the action that initiates the informing sequence.

6.3 Use of Fixed Multi-unit Expression and Customer's orientation to the notice

Excerpt 6.2 below is drawn from the early data (Recording #5 out of 45). The analysis of this excerpt shows that the customer produces a relevant next action *in overlap* with Minji's informing turn after reading the notice. We join where the customer asks for a particular brand of cigarettes (line 4). Minji offers the requested cigarettes in lines 5 to 13.

[Excerpt 6.2, case 2, Recording #5, 8/3/12]

```
04   C:   where is:-(0.8) uhm::(0.7)>YUEsEi go:ld light green,<
05        (0.9)
06   MJ:  li[ght=gree::n¿=[light g[reen.]
07   C:     [light. (0.5) [>yeah- [the light green<
08   MJ:  thisu?
09   C:   yeah [and:,] uh:m a koo:::l,(0.9) Kool mild,(0.5)
10   MJ:       [ye:ah]
11   C:   redu,
12   MJ:  s- short?=
13   C:   =short.
14        (3.7)
          MJ: takes out cigarettes from the shelf above MJ

15   MJ:  fiftee::n↑ sixty::
16   C:   >can I not-< can I just separate (.)
17        transac[tion¿
                  +put both Hands together and then separates them
18   MJ:          [ah+::: separeite?
                  +PT cigarettes
          +pushes cigarettes toward C
19   MJ:  +(2.0)  +thi+su?
          +nods & raises eyebrows
20   C:   +um-hm
          +GZ cigarettes
21   MJ:  +thisu?
22        (1.3)
          C: nods

23   MJ:  (°°okay°°)
24        (0.5)
          +GZ cigarettes                +picks up cigarettes and places them near C
25   C:   +no-no-no-no- (0.2) +you know what
```

+puts it near the other cigarettes +puts money on one cigarette
26 +(0.8) yeah jus: this one is +this.
27 (0.5)
+GZ down +nods +nods
28 MJ: +um um+um +um[um
+puts credit card on cigarettes
29 C: [this I gonna pay credit +car:d
30 (0.6)
MJ: moves the credit card

+GZ/PT notice (F1) +GZ C +GZ notice
31 ➔ MJ: +yeah:- +an:d +we limit +te:n:↑ (0.4) +and under:,
C: +GZ left (F1) +GZ notice (F2) + opens eyes & mouth (F3) +picks up cigarettes with the money on it


Frame 1.


Frame 2.


Frame 3.

+GZ C
32 ➔ >+twenny centu charge.<(.)>o+kay?<
C: +puts down cigarettes with the money on it with loud noise

+takes the card back
33 ➔ C: +(0.3) oka.hhy +(0.4) just (put) [˚that wa[y˚
MJ: + puts two packs of cigarettes together
34 MJ: [eyh- [yeah=
35 =uhhuhhuhh ˙hh ˚fifteen↑ sixty˚
36 (10.0)
MJ: grabs change from the cash register
C: faces the entrance door
MJ: gives C change
C: turns toward MJ and receives change and grabs cigarettes

+GZ C +nods
37 MJ: + +than↑kyou:::
C: +turns right toward entrance door and walks out

Minji announces the total payment due (line 15). The customer additionally requests that the transaction be split into two payments allowing her to pay for the purchase with both cash and credit card (lines 16-17). One result of this request for split payments is that the total cost of the group of items to be paid for by credit card dropped to less than $10. Minji accordingly initiates the informing sequence (lines 31-32) before launching the authorization process.

Continuing with this dual-payment activity, Minji uses the full fixed multi-unit expression, thus treating the customer as unaware of the store policy, and the notice through

gazing and pointing to inform the customer of the store's payment policy. Specifically, Minji sets initiation of the informing sequence apart from the previous sequence by using "yeah" at the turn initial position in line 31. She draws the customer's attention to the notice by shifting her gaze and pointing to the notice (Frame 1), suggesting that the dyadic participation framework becomes triadic. The embodiment immediately draws the customer's attention to the notice over Minji's production of "an:d" (line 31) as captured in Frames 1 and 2. Minji then looks at the customer while simultaneously informing her of the minimum policy: "we limi ↓te:n:↑, (0.4)," (line 31).

In overlap with the elongated production of "↓te:n:↑" (line 31), during which the customer has been looking at the notice for 1.1 seconds, the customer's eyes and mouth suddenly open wide (Frame 2). Such marked change in the facial expressions is what Kääntä (2014, p. 88) called "embodied noticing," understood as a gesturally performed action involving the embodiment of cognitive events. This embodied noticing suggests that the customer recognized the action Minji is building. The customer's subsequent action corroborates this analysis.

Upon grasping the meaning of the notice, the customer immediately produces a relevant next action (line 31) in overlap with the rest of Minji's informing turn: "and under:, >twenny centu charge<. >okay?<" (lines 31-32). The customer changes the previously arranged payment methods by withdrawing the credit card placed on a pack of cigarettes (Frame 3). The change of the payment methods indicates the customer's understanding of Minji's action, which constitutes a fitting response to the informing turn. Clearly, the sequential placement of this change of payment methods demonstrates that the customer gained understanding of the action Minji was implementing based on the text printed on the notice.

The abrupt manner in which the customer physically rearranges the payment methods (e.g., putting the cigarettes down on the counter with loud noise, line 32) displays the customer's disaffiliative stance toward the store policy. Minji's laughter (line 35) indexes her orientation to the customer's disaffiliative stance. This laughter also shows that Minji treats the change of payment method as evidence of the customer's understanding of the informing turn. The conditionally relevant response provides Minji with evidence that her practices of informing is intelligible. Minji's orientation to this evidence is confirmed by the fact that she continues to use the same practice during the subsequent informing sequences shown in the analyses of the following excerpts.

The analysis of the excerpts below examines the moments of silence occurring after Minji's initiation of the informing sequences. The silence after Minji's practices of informing delays the customers' relevant response to the informing turn. The analysis shows that the delay provides an interactional space for the customers to perform a particular action, that is, reading of the notice. As shown in the analysis of Except 6.1, the following data also shows that the customer's reading of the notice is part of action recognition processes in the informing sequence.

The customer in Excerpt 6.3 avoids the transaction fee as the customer did in Excerpt 6.2. The customer in the previous excerpt changed the payment methods in overlap with the informing turn, whereas the customer in this excerpt purchases more items after reading the notice. Excerpt 6.3 was recorded 17 months after Excerpt 6.2. It begins when the customer approaches the counter with items he selected in line 4.

[Excerpt 6.3, Case 10, Recording #30, 01/11/14]

01 MJ: hi
02 (0.6)
03 C: hi
04 (17.8)
C: approaches the counter with items.
MJ: calculates the total by operating the cash register.

Frame 1.

+puts the items in a plastic bag
05 MJ: ↑+nine ↓twenty five
06 (1.7)
MJ: puts the items in a plastic bag
C: holds out a card (F1)
MJ: GZ the card & RH moves toward the notice (F1)

+GZ/PT notice (F2) +GZ C (F3)
07 ➔ MJ: +we >+limi=ten under +twenny centu< ↓charge okay?
C: +GZ card +GZ notice/moves to the right +GZ notice (F3)

Frame 2.

Frame 3.

08 ➔ (1.8)
C: GZ notice in a frozen posture
MJ: GZ C

09 ➔ (0.5)
C: stretches his right with palm facing up (F4)

Frame 4.

+moves to the back
10 ➔ C: +I put one more ting then [+HaHaHaHaHa
MJ: +returns the card
11 MJ: [hhhh
12 (14.3)
13 C: hhhh
14 (1.5)
15 MJ: yeap hhh
16 (6.4)

As the customer walks back to the check-out counter with his items, Minji begins her calculations (line 4) and then announces the total cost (line 5). While Minji is bagging the items, the customer hands a credit card to Minji (Frame 1). Minji takes the card, treating it is the selected payment method. At the same time, she initiates the informing sequence because the total is less than $10.

Minji uses the same gestures and fixed multi-unit expression (as in the previous Excerpt 6.2) to inform the customer of the policy. While saying, "we" (line 7), Minji points to and gazes at the notice (Frame 2). The combination of gazing and pointing gestures draw the customer's attention to the notice over Minji's production of "limit" (line 7). The customer does not immediately respond to the informing turn nor initiate repair on Minji's speaking practice. Instead he moves over to the right to have a better view of the notice (Frame 3). In line 8, the customer stands motionless, while reading the notice for 1.8 seconds, thus delaying his response to the informing turn. Similar to Excerpt 6.1, Minji does not interrupt the customer's reading because the reading action can be seen as an aligning move with the embodied participation framework Minji suggested in the informing turn. As she moves out of the immediate contact zone in line 8, Minji clearly displays her waiting to the customer for his reading.

The customer eventually finishes reading the notice and silently extends his right hand, palm up as shown in Frame 4 in line 9. Minji treats this gesture as a request for returning the card (line 10). This request then is open to be interpreted as a preliminary to changing the payment method or cancelling the transaction. After receiving the card back, the customer announces his adjusted purchase plan (line 10). The tying device "then" in the announcement indicates that this plan is contingent on the store policy. This response thus demonstrates that his understanding of the store policy is a consequence of his reading of the notice.

The following excerpt also demonstrates how the customer makes use of the store's notice in recognizing Minji's practices. The customer initially appears to accept the transaction fee but a moment later reverses the initial acceptance and pays by cash. The analysis shows that this change of the payment method is the result of reading of the notice. The excerpt, recorded in May 1, 2014, occurred four months after Excerpt 6.3. It shows that Minji continues to use the

same practices. The excerpt begins when Minji and the customer exchange greetings in lines 1 and 2.

[Excerpt 6.4, case 12, Recording #35, 05/01/14]

04 MJ: four twenty ↓°+four:°
C: +holds out an ID

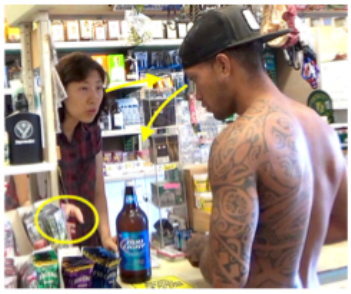
05 C: there you go.+
MJ: +takes the ID

+GZ ID
06 MJ: +yeah thank you
C: +holds out a card
07 (0.5)
MJ: puts the ID on counter

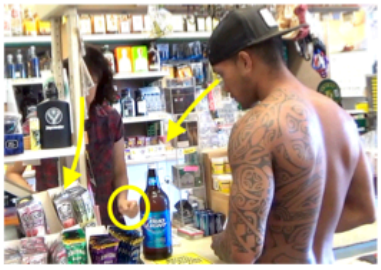
+takes the card (F1)
+GZ/PT notice (F1) +GZ C (F3)
08 ➔ MJ: +yeah ˙hhh we +limit ten under twen+ny cen[tu charge oke?]
C: +GZ ID/picking up ID (F1)+GZ notice (F2)
+GZ notice
09 ➔ C: [+oh oke oke.]


Frame 1.


Frame 2.


Frame 3.

10 ➔ (0.7) (0.6) (0.2)
MJ: nods and moves toward the cash register (F4) MJ: GZ C (F5) C: nods twice
C: GZ notice (F4) C: nods/GZ notice (F5)


Frame 4.


Frame 5.

+nods/operates the POS terminal
11 ➔ MJ: +°yeah (0.4) thank you°+
C: +GZ notice +GZ notice

12 ➔ C: oh okay never mind then
13 MJ: [yeah
14 ➔ C: [how much is that?

15 (0.9)
16 ➔ MJ: ↑four twenty four:↑
17 (3.7)
C: pulls out cash from wallet
MJ: GZ C

18 ➔ MJ: +do you have?
C: + puts the cash on the counter

19 ➔ C: ye:s
20 MJ: hhh thank you::

In line 3, the customer selects a bottle of beer from the store refrigerator, walks back to the check-out counter, and places the bottle on the counter. Using the cash register, Minji begins to calculate the total, which she announces in line 4. In overlap with this announcement, the customer holds out his ID, as he is legally required to show when purchasing liquor.

While Minji is checking the ID (line 6), the customer hands her a credit card, which can be seen as the relevant next action to the announcement of the total cost. Minji receives the card, treating it as the selected payment method (line 7). But she does not proceed with the authorization process. Instead, because the total purchase is less than $10, she initiates the informing sequence, by using the same set of practices demonstrated earlier.

With "yeah" in line 8 Minji begins the informing sequence. Over the production of "yeah," Minji looks at the notice posted at the check-out counter while pointing with her right hand as shown in Frame 1. These gestures incorporate the notice in the ongoing informing action, reconfiguring the participation framework from a dyadic to triadic interaction. The customer adjusts to the proposed change in the participation framework by turning toward and looking at the notice (Frame 2) in overlap with Minji's production of "limit" (line 8) as shown in Frames 2 and 3.

Overlapping with the end of the TCUs in the prior turn: "centu charge oke?" (line 8), the customer claims understanding, "oh oke oke" (line 9). Minji treats this claim as acceptance of the transaction fee by thanking the customer (line 11) and immediately initiates the authorization

process by moving to the right so that she can comfortably operate the POS terminal as shown in Frame 5 (line 10). She holds the credit card in her left hand to swipe it through the POS terminal (Frame 4).

Importantly, Minji orients to the *sequential placement* of the customer's continuing reading behavior. While Minji approaches the POS terminal, the customer continues to read the notice as shown in Frame 4. Minji orients to that the customer continues focusing on the notice *after* he agreed with the store policy. Minji then stops conducting the authorization process by stepping away from the POS terminal and raising the card in her left hand in the air as captured in Frame 5. Minji then repositions herself so she can better attend to the customer. She does so because the customer has continued reading the notice, which is part of the resources used for constructing the informing action. Based on this customer's reading behavior, Minji appears to revise her understanding of the customer's previous utterance, "oh oke oke" (line 9), as a mere claim of understanding rather than acceptance of the transaction fee. In line 10, Minji's looking at the customer (Frame 5) after ceasing to operate the POS demonstrates that she expects another response to the informing turn, suggesting that she has cancelled the earlier agreement. This clearly illustrates how Minji regards the notice as an essential part of the practice of informing. The customer orients to Minji's posture and spatial orientation and thus nods twice (line 10). With her own nods and thanks, Minji then treats the nods as agreeing to the policy. Only then does she resume the authorization process (line 11).

Even after the nods are exchanged (line 11), the customer continues reading the notice, and then produces another claim of understanding ("oh okay," line 12). Given that the customer's gaze has been fixed on the notice, it seems reasonable to view this claim of understanding as the result of reading of the notice. The customer negates the meaning of the nods that Minji treated

as acceptance by saying “never mind” (line 12) in the same turn. This revision of the earlier action clearly reveals that the customer gained understanding of Minji’s action by reading the notice rather than based on the spoken fixed multi-unit expression. The customer rechecks the total payment due, which can be seen as preparatory to making a payment by cash (line 14). Minji also orients to the customer’s question as such evidenced by her candidate understanding of the import of the question, “do you have?” in line 18. The customer confirms the change of payment method in line 19, thus evidencing his understanding of the informing turn.

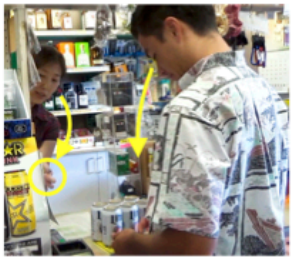
The last excerpt in the section below was recorded on July 25, 2014, toward the end of the 30-month data collection period (Recording #41 out of 45). It shows that Minji continues to use the same fixed expressions, gestures, and the sign to inform the customer of the store policy as shown in the analyses of the previous excerpts. The excerpt begins when the customer approaches the check-out counter with the selected items and Minji calculates the total purchase as she sees the items (line 1).

[Excerpt 6.5, case 18, Recording #41, 07/25/14]

+leans toward notice +GZ/PT notice (F1)

10 → MJ: yeah +(0.2) ˙hh +<we limit te:n+, under

C: +GZ notice (F2)



Frame 1.

Frame 2.

Frame 3.

+GZ C (F3)

11 → +twenny centu charge okay?>

C: +GZ notice (F3)

12 → (0.4)

C: GZ notice

MJ: GZ C

+GZ notice +nods/GZ down

13 → C: +ah::: yep +okay.

14 MJ: yep.

15 (0.8)

```
16 → MJ:   not ↑bad
17         (0.6)
           MJ: swipes card through the POS terminal
18    MJ:    h h
```

Minji announces the total cost (line 2), then requests an ID to check that the customer is of legal age to purchase liquor. After checking the customer's ID (lines 4-8), Minji initiates the informing sequence (lines 10-11), because the customer chose to use a card as the payment method for a purchase of less than $10.

Minji continues to use the same practice as shown in the previous excerpts. She marks the initiation of new sequence with "yeah" ("pre-beginning", Schegloff, 1996) and informs the customer of the policy, while she leans toward, looks at, and points to the notice as shown in Frame 2. By combining pointing with the oral production of "<we limit te:n, under twenny centu charge okay?>" (lines 10-11), Minji links the fixed expression to the notice ("environmentally coupled gesture," Goodwin, 2007). In this way, the fixed expression can be heard as a formulation of the notice (cf., Nisei & Lehtinen, 2016). The customer aligns with the proposed embodied participation framework, corroborated by his immediate attention to the notice (Frames 1 and 2, line 10).

The informing action (lines 10-11) makes a limited range of response types as conditionally relevant: namely, compliance, avoidance, or non-compliance. However, the customer continues to focus on the notice for 0.4 seconds, withholding a response to Minji's action. In line 12, the customer orients to the slight 0.4-second gap at the transition-relevance place. Thus, he holds the turn by producing "uh:::" (line 13) and preempts Minji's turn initiation. In this way the customer attempts to make sense of the action in the prior turn by reading the notice and does not initiate repair on the fixed multi-unit expression. The customer finally produces a confirming response token, "yep" (line 13), agreeing to the transaction fee by

repeating “okay” in falling intonation (line 13). By the time he signals acceptance, he has been looking at the notice for 2.9 seconds. This lengthy reading of the notice before producing a relevant next action is visible evidence that the notice facilitates the customer’s recognition of Minji’s practice as informing of the store policy. After this agreement, he stops focusing on the notice.

Minji began to monitor the customer after he attended to the notice and did not distract him from reading the notice during the 0.4-second gap (line 12). This demonstrates that Minji treated the customer’s reading of the notice as a relevant next action following the informing turn which suggested the embodied participation framework. On the other hand, Minji orients to the nonlexical perturbation (“ah:::,” line 13) as prefiguring a dispreferred response to the enforcement of the store policy. Thus Minji provides an assessment of the store policy as “not bad” (line 16), alluding to some general retail policy of adding a transaction fee for card transactions.

To summarize, the analysis in Sections 6.2 and 6.3 focused on the informing sequences Minji initiated in which she treated the customers as knowing (Excerpts 6.1) or unknowing (Excerpts 6.2 to 6.5) about the store policy. The analysis showed how Minji and the customers drew on the notice in the processes of action formation and ascription in the informing sequences. In all cases, Minji’s speaking practice, that is, the use of the truncated or the fixed multi-unit expression, appeared to be unintelligible (or at least a trouble source) as evidenced by the lack of immediate customers’ response. The analysis demonstrated that at the transition-relevance place following Minji’s informing turn the customers did not initiate repair on the prior turn when each TRP after the informing turn constitutes a repair opportunity space, that is, “understood [by all] to be there, to have been there, even if not activated” (Schegloff, 1992, p. 1327, cited in

Robinson, 2014, p. 112). Instead, they read the notice to make sense of the action Minji implemented in the prior turn.

The customers' reading of the notice was an organizational consequence because Minji incorporated the notice into the informing action. All customers in the excerpts in this chapter came to understand the action Minji constructed by reading the notice without initiating repair. Their understanding was indicated by a variety of relevant next actions: exasperation toward the store policy (Excerpt 6.1); abrupt change of the payment methods (Excerpt 6.2); purchasing additional items (Excerpt 6.3); reversal of initial acceptance of the transaction fee (Excerpt 6.4); and acceptance of the transaction fee (Excerpt 6.5). The customers displayed their understanding of the informing turn through this variety of relevant actions. These relevant actions, whether they are affiliative or disaffiliative, ratified Minji's practices as intelligible and sensible ways of informing, leading to successful enforcement of the store's card-use policy. As a consequence of these various forms of ratification, Minji appears to continue using the same practices in the informing sequences that she initiates.

6.4 Customer's Orientation to the Notice in Customer-initiated Informing Sequence

The previous sections focused on Minji's initiating practices used for informing customers of the store's card-payment policy. The analysis showed how both Minji and her customers oriented to the notice as a crucial resource for the informing action. Although the customers did not immediately respond, which suggested interactional difficulty (Manrique & Enfield, 2015; Seo & Koshik, 2010), all customers quickly resolved their problem by reading the notice. In the following two excerpts the customers initiate the informing sequence either by requesting information or by asking confirmation whether or not a card is an acceptable payment

method. Each excerpt demonstrates how the notice contributes to the customers' understanding of the store policy in the customer-initiated informing sequence.

The data below, recorded in May 16, 2014, as part of Recording #36, is the first occurrence of Minji's informing in second position recorded in the corpus (see Table 4.3 for the instances of customer-initiated informing sequences in Section 4.4). The excerpt begins when the customer approaches the check-out counter with a bottle of beer picked up from the store refrigerator.

[Excerpt 6.6, case 13, Recording #36, 05/16/14]

```
02    MJ:   dollar ↑+ten-
      C:                +puts a bottle of beer on the counter

03          (1.4)
            C: seeks for wallet in pocket

04    C1:   dollar:::,
05          (0.6)
06    MJ:   dollar::, ten::
07          (1.9)
            c: searches for money in wallet

                  +GZ down                                  +shakes head
08 ➔  C:    +do you ↑accept ↑cards or +no↓
09 ➔        (0.7)
            C: GZ C
            MJ: GZ toward the notice

                  +GZ notice                                          +PT notice (F1) +GZ C
10 ➔  MJ:   +ˈhh ↑yeah ↓yeah-yeah-+ but we limit +ten    ⤻+:
      C:                                  +GZ wallet
11 ➔        (0.6)
            C: GZ notice (F2)
```

Frame 1.

Frame 2.

```
                  +GZ notice    +GZ wallet      +opens wallet
12 ➔  C:    +oh=o::kay+. hang on [+um:    ] I'll be right back
13    MJ:                       [°yeah=°]
14          (16.5)
            C: goes out of the store
```

15 ➔ (4.7)
C: walks toward the counter and gives money

+GZ coins
16 MJ: +m?

+takes out wallet and pulls out money from wallet
17 ➔ C: +(I'm sorry)=here you go [hh sorry(h) h
18 MJ: [h h h h h h h h
+gives cash to MJ
19 C: +thought I +gave (it to you)
20 MJ: h h
21 (0.5)

After Minji's announcement of the price for the beer (line 2) and a repair sequence on that price (lines 4-6), the customer checks the cash in his wallet (line 7). He then pauses and asks Minji about the acceptability of cards as a payment method, thereby initiating the informing sequence (line 8). This information-seeking question initiates a pre-second insert sequence within the payment activity and thus can be seen as a preliminary to making the payment by card, because he found little cash with him in line 7. The question demonstrates the customer's unknowing epistemic status about the store's card payment policy. But the question also shows that he is aware that some small convenience stores may not accept cards for small transaction amounts.

In line 10, using multiple *yeah*s, Minji confirms that cards are acceptable. She immediately follows these utterances by adding the contrastive marker "but" and further informs the customer of the store's minimum policy ("we limit ten") while gazing at and pointing to the notice as shown in Frame 1. The speaking practice coupled with the notice is designed to be heard as truncated reiteration of the notice. However, she does not include the information about the transaction fee option. This way of notifying the customer of the store's payment policy in second position is similar in a later instance shown in the analysis of Excerpt 5.10 in Section 5.5, which was recorded on Sept. 26, 2014 (i.e., four months after Excerpt 6.6). The informing sequence in Excerpt 5.10 (Section 5.5) follows below.

[Excerpt 5.10, case 22, Recording #44, 09/26/14]

```
21 → C:    is there minimum amount of- (0.3) card¿
22 → MJ:   yeah ten limit:
```

Returning to Excerpt 6.6, Minji's answer (line 10) does not close the insertion sequence initiated by the customer's question (line 8). The customer does not resume the payment activity. Instead he begins to read the notice (Frame 2, line 11) near the end of Minji's informing turn in line 10, continues reading it for 0.6-seconds during the gap (line 11), and then claims understanding: "oh o::kay" (line 12). The sequential placement of this claim is evidence that reading the notice has helped his understanding of the informing in second position. By making this claim, the customer treats Minji's practices as relevant and intelligible for his question.

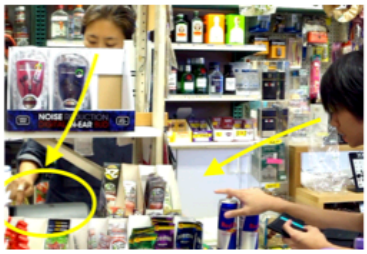
Following this claim, the customer suspends the payment activity by saying "hold on" (line 12). Then he rechecks his wallet while holding the turn through the production of nonlexical perturbation "uh:" (line 12). When he finds that he does not have enough cash, he further suspends the payment activity by announcing his plan that he will get money from his car. He then leaves the store (line 12). When he returns (line 16), the customer gives the cash to Minji (line 16).

The customer's understanding of Minji's informing in the second position is again indicated through the relevant next action: that is, the change of the initially projected payment method. This change of payment method was can be considered one of conditionally relevant response types after the informing. This relevant next action confirms that Minji's practices are recognized and a socially shared method that accomplish the practical work of enforcing the store policy. Minji continues to use the same set of practices in second position in the informing sequence in which customers request information about use of card as evidenced in Excerpt 5.10 (see Table 4.3).

The customer's reading behavior presented in the data below is unique in that the customer attends to the notice posted at the counter *without* involving Minji's gestures. I briefly highlight relevant points for this section.

[Excerpt 6.7, case 8, Recording #26, 11/14/13]

```
01      MJ:   hi:
02      C1:   hi:
03            (32.7)
04      MJ:   ((coughing))
05   ➔  C1:   can I do ↓debit↑
06            (0.5)
              C: puts drinks on counter
              MJ: calculates the total
```



Frame 1.

```
07   ➔  MJ:   yeah
08            (1.0)
              MJ: calculates the total (F1)
              C: looks at the notice (F1)

              +GZ notice (F2)
09   ➔  C1:   +oh
              MJ:  +calculates the total
```

Frame 2.

```
              +turns back and moves to the right, out of the camera angle
10   ➔  C1:   +(0.4) has to be ten dollar minimum:¿+
              MJ:  +calculates the total                    +completes calculation

11            (2.3)
              MJ: moves to the counter and GZ toward entrance (F3)

12      C2:   (I I ↑got that)
13      C1:   are you sure?
14      C2:   ↑yeah it's good (man)=
15      C1:   =alright
16            (2.0)
              C2: moves to the counter and looks at the cash register
              MJ: looks at approaching C2 and checks the cash register

17      MJ:   six ↓thirty↑ ↓↑eight:::
18      MJ:   $°hm$ hi°

19            (1.0)
              C2: pulls out cash from wallet
```

Frame 3.

Note. The following data has been analyzed in Excerpt 4.4 in Section 4.6 (Chapter 4) to demonstrate the customer's orientation to the problem of word-choice used in the text of the in-store policy.

In this excerpt two customers, C1 and C2, enter the store. In line 5, after selecting a few items for purchase, C1 approaches the check-out counter while Minji calculates the cost in line 3. C1 asks if debit cards are an acceptable payment method, thereby initiating the informing sequence (line 5). In this way C1 demonstrates that he is knowledgeable about general card payment policies in Hawai'i but is unaware of the store policy at Teru's Mart. In line 7, while continuing to calculate the purchase total as shown in Frame 2, Minji briefly responds with "yeah" confirming that the store accepts debit cards.

After this information request-answer sequence, C1 notices the sign posted at the counter and treats it as relevant to the information-seeking question. He then begins to read closely by moving to the right to reposition himself to get a clear view of the notice as shown in Frame 2 (line 8). After reading the notice for 1-second (line 8), C1 claims understanding through "oh" in line 9. He then conveys the policy to C2, "has to be ten dollar minimum:¿" (line 9). This report shows that C1 gained the information about the minimum for card transactions, by reading the notice without Minji's speaking and embodied contributions. This clearly shows that the notice itself can provide the information of the store's card payment policy to customers.

The customers whose actions were analyzed in this chapter indicated their understanding of the informing through a range of relevant next actions. It has been argued that such a manner in which participants indicate their understanding of the prior turn is an unmarked way to facilitate sequential progressivity when there are no (expected) problems of intersubjectivity (cf. Heritage, 2007; Kuroshima, 2010; Lee, 2011). We again witness the customers' en passant way of indicating understanding in line 9 in the context of the information-seeking question and answer sequence in lines 5-9.

In line 10, C1 launches a request sequence by explicitly formulating the policy. This formulation is occasioned as a way to elicit C2's help. Importantly, in the report C1 uses *minimum* rather than *limit* as I discussed in Section 4.5. C2 treats C1's report as a display of C1's problems with the store's payment policy, and so he offers help by volunteering to pay for C1's purchase. While C1 and C2 are interacting to resolve this problem, Minji does not attend to their interaction (line 12), but, instead, disengages as evidenced by her gaze direction toward the entrance as shown in Frame 3.

6.5 Summary and Discussion

In this chapter, I presented a detailed analysis of how the store's notice as a textual object contributes to the customers' understanding of the informing turn deployed in first or second position. The practice includes either using the multi-unit expression (*We limit te:n under twenny centu chargee okay?*) or its variants (t*wenny centu charge¿; we limit ten*), combined with drawing the customers' attention to the notice by shifting gaze, leaning, and pointing.

As discussed in Section 6.1, research suggests that textual objects in the environment are integral to interaction and learning. However, the role of textual materials in L2 learning in the wild has received relatively little attention. Kasper and Burch (2016) and Hwang (2009) looked at writing behavior used in the casual setting rather than textual materials available in the environment. They demonstrated that writing behavior is beneficial for L2 learning as it opens side sequences which can be seen as a type of interactional work that constructs "learning spaces" in the wild (Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2015, p. 2), although Hwang showed how "brush talk" (i.e., writing behavior) can also be a source of misunderstanding.

The analysis in this chapter demonstrated the contributions of a textual object by showing how Minji and the customers drew on the notice in the processes of action formation and

ascription in the informing sequences. The findings evidence that customers' understanding of Minji's practice of informing was largely based on their reading of the notice during the informing sequence. As such, the notice posted above the check-out counter embodied a routinized solution for a repetitive task required for the specific work of informing customers of the store policy. In this sense, this tool is comparable to the Munsell chart used in the field of archeology as shown in Goodwin (2000).

The analysis unveiled three organizational features of the informing sequences that affected learning opportunities in the routine informing sequences. First, while the customers did not immediately recognize the action Minji implemented through the truncated or full fixed multi-unit expression, none of the customers initiated repair on those fixed expressions. Rather, they resorted to the notice as one of the semiotic resources that Minji used to build the action of informing. This organizational pattern was the consequence of Minji's use of the notice which proposed a reconfiguration of the participation framework. Secondly, the customers' reading of the notice at the transition-relevance place (TRP) after Minji's informing turn can be also seen as a consequence of the operation of the principle of progressivity, because attending to part of the resource out of which the informing action is built (i.e., reading the notice) permits better sequence progressivity than did initiating repair that would open a repair sequence putting the ongoing informing sequence on hold. The last organizational pattern that affected a learning opportunity in the informing sequences is that the customers indicated their understanding of Minji's informing practice through a range of relevant next actions after the informing turn. No customers displayed understanding through repetition or reformulation of the policy as Customer 1 did as way to elicit an offer of help from Customer 2 in Excerpt 6.7. The relevant responsive actions to the informing turn deployed in first and second position in the informing sequences

repeatedly ratified Minji's practice as intelligible. As such, the repeated, successful understandings, facilitated by the use of embodiment and the notice, constituted evidence for the intelligibility of Minji practice. The evidence provided in the forms of diverse relevant actions affirms Minji's use of the ungrammatical fixed expressions in the spoken and written modalities as an adequate routine for enforcing the store policy.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I primarily focused on 16 customers out of 25 who understood Minji's practice as informing of the store policy without involving repair initiation excerpt for Excerpt 6.1 in which the trouble source was Minji's misevaluation of the customer's epistemic status about the store's policy. The next chapter focuses on the remaining 9 customers who exhibited problems of understanding when Minji informed them of the store policy. I indicated that these problems were prevalent among less knowing customers in Chapter 4. The next chapter examines how Minji and the customers conduct repair activities.

CHAPTER 7. TROUBLE SOURCES, TROUBLE ANALYSIS, AND THE STABILITY OF THE IDIOSYNCRATIC FIXED EXPRESSIONS

Minji's informing turn, whether deployed in the first or second position, is designed to project a limited range of relevant actions —e.g., acceptance, avoidance, or noncompliance. Chapter 6 showed that the informing turns were not followed by a relevant next response but by silence, during which the customers did not immediately initiate repair but instead read the notice of the store policy and Minji waited for the customer to finish reading without immediately attempting a self-repair. Chapter 6 highlighted that the customers' reading of the notice of the store policy helped them understand the idiosyncratic fixed expressions as implementing the policy during the informing sequences. Not all customers, however, resolved their trouble by referring to the notice. Some initiated repair immediately while others did so only after reading the notice. In this chapter I focus on these repair activities that occurred during the informing sequences.

One strand of SLA research that takes an interactional approach emphasizes negotiation for meaning as constituting the core learning mechanism for L2 development. This environment was argued to be an essential linguistic environment in which native speakers (NSs), triggered by non-native speakers' (NNSs) errors, provide NNSs with modified, thus comprehensible, input. In and through negotiation for meaning, NNSs receive negative evidence—that is, information about the incorrectness of the NNS's utterance. Based on this model of L2 learning, which Block (2003) referred to as the "input-interaction-output (IIO) model" (p. 26), it has been argued that negotiation for meaning in interaction may facilitate the L2 learner's noticing of the linguistic form, which then leads to L2 development (Gass & Mackey, 2006; Long, 1996; Long & Robinson, 1998; Markee, 1994).

While the IIO model suggests that negotiation for meaning provides L2 learning opportunities, the problems of the model include conceptualizing negotiation for meaning merely as linguistic information processing (Block, 2003; Firth & Wagner, 2007). In CA, repair is viewed as essential practices to participate in social activities by which participants manage trouble sources in speaking, hearing, or understanding the talk (Schegloff et al., 1977). Through repair practices, participants indicate and may resolve trouble sources while suspending the ongoing interaction. Repair organization thus affords opportunities for the trouble-source speaker to notice and resolve the source of trouble, for example, by adjusting the design of the TCUs in the trouble source turn, by repeating corrective turns (Hauser, 2013b, 2013c), or to open a side sequence in which they may orient to doing learning (Brouwer, 2003, 2004; Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2015; Kasper & Burch, 2016; Y. Kim, 2012). In this sense, repair activities have been viewed as an important interactional space in which "[l]anguage learning behaviors are massively achieved" (Markee, 2008, p. 408).

Within these perspectives, this chapter focuses on repair activities occurring during the informing sequences, examining how Minji and her customers initiate and complete repair. Specifically, the analysis demonstrates how Minji misanalyzes the trouble sources and how she completes repair or offers corrections with a limited range of routinized repair solutions or correction formats; and, as a result, she is *not* oriented to her practiced of informing as a source of intersubjective problem during the repair activities initiated by customers. In the following section, I briefly review relevant CA literature on repair practices to provide the background for the analysis in this chapter.

7.1 Trouble Source and Trouble Responsibility

Repair practices exhibit two basic organizational aspects: who initiates and completes repair, and where repair is initiated in relation to the trouble source (Schegloff, et al., 1977). A repair initiation suspends the ongoing interaction and indicates trouble with varying specificity through the design of the formats that initiate repair. In addition to these basic organizational aspects, three other aspects of repair organization are relevant to this discussion. First, preference for self-correction. A repair can be initiated and completed either by the trouble-source speaker or the trouble-source recipient. But, the organization of repair provides the trouble-source speaker with structurally biased opportunities for self-correction. This is because the trouble-source speaker comes to meet an opportunity—before, during, or after the production of a trouble source, or at the turn's transition space—to initiate and complete repair earlier than does the recipient of the trouble source. Other-initiation of repair is overwhelmingly withheld providing the trouble-source speaker a repair-initiation opportunity. Thus, there is sequentially biased preference for self-correction over other-correction in repair activities. This does not mean that a repair outcome is always the successful restoration of understanding. On the contrary, a repair outcome can be abandonment of the trouble.

Research shows that preference for self-correction can be reshaped according to the ongoing focal activities. For example, in an L2 classroom, other-correction and other-initiated self-repair are commonly used as a vehicle to perform instruction (Macbeth, 2004). In the L2 user-involved interaction in the wild, participants tend not to topicalize the L2 user's proficiency unless the L2 user does so (Brouwer, 2003; Firth, 1996, 2009a; Lilja, 2014). When L1 users (or expert language users) perform other-correction, they attempt en passant repair or embedded corrections (Brouwer et al., 2004; Hosoda, 2006; Kurhila, 2006). Both types of corrections are designed in such a way that they are not treated as the main activity. This is a way to facilitate

progressivity in interaction, because constructing an exposed correction sequence may engender "attendant activities" such as complaining, accusing, ridiculing or "problematizing" category-bound competence (Wagner, 2015) that can be described as addressing "lapses in competence and/or conduct" (Jefferson, 1987, p. 88; Schegloff, 1997).

Another organizational aspect relevant to this discussion is the types of formats used to other-initiate repair (OI). Schegloff et al. (1977) observed various OI formats, ranging from an open-class repair initiator (Drew, 1997) to class-specific wh-questions (e.g., who? where?), and to candidate hearings or understandings in order of increasing power to indicate and specify a trouble source (see also Hayashi & Hayano, 2013).

While Schegloff et al. (1977) discussed OI formats in relation to their power to locate trouble sources, Svennevig (2008) examined OI formats in terms of the types of trouble sources. He argued that an acceptability problem needs to be distinguished from other types of trouble sources, because it involves social implications rather than intersubjective problems. Based on a broad range of interactional data (e.g., casual and institutional, and L1 and L2 talk), Svennevig confirmed findings of Schegloff et al. (1977) that OIs tend to take the shape of stronger formats (e.g., by presenting a candidate hearing or understanding) rather than merely indicating the trouble-source recipient's trouble (e.g., huh? What?) when the trouble source is concerned with hearing and understanding problems. However, when trouble sources relate to acceptability—that is, "saying something 'wrong' in a wide sense, that is, untrue, inappropriate, irrelevant, etc." (Svennevig, p. 336), he found a distribution skewed toward employing weaker OI formats. His analyses demonstrated that the recipients of trouble-source turn prefer to treat an acceptability problem as a hearing problem or an understanding problem in that order. This

observation led him to conclude that there is a reversed preference for using weaker OI formats in indicating an acceptability problem motivated by for managing progressivity and face work.

Finally, Robinson (2006) observed OI formats relative to trouble responsibility. OIs are open to being perceived as indicating dispreferred responses because they halt progression of the ongoing activity (Schegloff, 2006). Lack of progressivity in interaction can convey the repair initiator's disaffiliative stance against the prior action where the trouble source lies (e.g., a questioning repeat, Jefferson, 1978). In this regard, Robinson suggested some possibility that non-apology-based open-class OIs, in particular, can be interpreted as casting trouble responsibility on the trouble-source speaker.

In sum, I have presented several organizational aspects of repair activities: that is, the structural bias for self-correction; the relationship between OI formats and the types of trouble sources, and between OI formats and trouble responsibility. Based on these perspectives, the analysis in this chapter examines how the participants indicate and construe trouble sources, attribute trouble responsibility, and attempt to complete repair.

7.2 Customer's Reading Competence and Calculation Problem as Trouble Source

In this section I highlight the participants' orientations to the store notice as a repair solution as well as a repairable. While all customers mentioned in Chapter 6 *silently* read the notice, in the following two cases presented in this section, the customers read part of the notice *audibly*. I focus my analysis on how the customers' audible reading is oriented to by Minji and becomes relevant to the organization of repair activities, which in turn may affect L2 learning opportunity. In addition, I demonstrate that Minji attempts at self-repair by demonstrating the calculation of the purchase total with the addition of the transaction fee. I will elaborate the latter focus as Minji's routinized repair solutions in Section 7.3

The excerpt below comes from data collected in January 2013, relatively early in the data-collection period. Excerpt 7.1 is the first recorded repair activity occurring during the informing sequence. The excerpt begins when the customer approaches the check-out counter with items and Minji greets her (line 1).

[Excerpt 7.1a, case 3, Recording #10, 01/11/13]

01 MJ: ((bows))
02 (2.0)
MJ: calculates the total

03 MJ: dollar ↑te:n=
04 C: =and uh: one::::, phone car:d (0.3)
05 mas[ter please[::
+turns/moves to right side
06 MJ: [what? + [mast-
07 (5.1)
MJ: brings a phone card to the counter

+picks up card
+RH moves to PT notice
08 MJ: +°six +te+:n↑°=

+GZ/PT notice (F1) **+leans toward notice (F2)** **+GZ C (F3)**
09 → +=yeah- +we +limit te:n under +twenny centu charge:
C: **+GZ right side (F1)** **+moves to right side/GZ notice (F2)** **+GZ notice (F3)**

Frame 1.

Frame 2.

Frame 3.

10 → oke[: ?]
+frown/GZ notice
11 → C: +[what,]
12 → (1.6)
C: silently reads the notice (F4)
MJ: ducks her head and then crouches & GZ C (F4)

+GZ notice
13 → C: +°for under°
14 → (0.5)
C: silently reads the notice
MJ: GZ C

Frame 4.

After calculating the total purchase (line 2), Minji announces the amount due (line 3). The customer makes a further service request (lines 4-5) which leads Minji to re-announce the

total cost with the addition of a phone card (line 8). Minji picks up the credit card (line 8) that the customer placed on the counter earlier and acknowledges it as the selected payment method with "yeah" (line 9). As the total is less than $10, Minji informs the customer of the store's card payment policy using the fixed multi-unit expression: "we limit te:n under twenny cents charge: oke:?" (lines 9-10). As shown in Chapter 6, Minji also incorporates reference to the notice posted on the wall above the counter by pointing and gazing (Frame 1), and by leaning (Frame 2) toward the notice (see Fig. 7.1, p. 152) over the production of "yeah we" (line 9). In this way, Minji suggests an "embodied participation framework" (Goodwin, 2007, p. 56) made up of the customer, the notice, and Minji.

Following Minji's initial pointing (Frame 1), the customer attends to the notice by shifting her gaze and repositioning herself to get a better view, as captured in Frame 2. After successfully drawing the customer's attention to the notice, Minji looks at the customer (Frame 3), informs her of the store policy, and requests agreement through the fixed multi-unit expression (lines 9-10). Overlapping with Minji's request for agreement "oke :?" (line 10), the customer initiates repair with "what" with a frown (line 11). Drew (1997) calls this an open-class repair initiator (OCRI), mainly used to indicate an abrupt sequential shift as a trouble source.

The announcement of the total (line 8) is an initiating action of the payment activity, projecting the customer's payment as a relevant next action. In fact, the customer had already paid by placing a card on the check-out counter (line 7). The relevant next action after the receipt of the card payment is initiation of the authorization process between Minji and the card company mediated by the POS terminal. In this sequential context, Minji's informing practice deployed immediately after receipt of the payment (line 8) appears to constitute an abrupt sequential shift.

As discussed in Section 4.2 in Chapter 4, Minji's informing action inserts a new sequence into the ongoing payment activity, which makes relevant a limited range of response types, namely, agreement or avoidance of the fee, or abandonment of the transaction. Although "yeah" (line 9) can be seen a "pre-beginning" , it does not appear to produce a recognizable sequential shift as some other resources (e.g., *by the way* or some prosodic features such as amplitude, rising pitch, or delaying devices) might more explicitly do in the sequential context of a projected authorization process by the card payment. The customer's understanding of the projected authorization process as a component of the overall structural organization of the payment activity is evidenced by the way the customer steps away from Minji as shown in Frame 2.

OCRIs are not the strongest type of repair initiators because they merely indicate the presence of an interactional trouble in the prior turn but do not specify the trouble source (Schegloff et al., 1977). Specifically, the repair initiating format "what" (line 11) only indicates that the customer has failed to understand Minji's informing turn entirely.

As discussed in Section 7.1, formats of OCRIs are not equal, because they differ in how they attribute trouble responsibility (Jefferson, 1987; Schegloff, 1997). For example, Robinson (2006) distinguished apology-based OCRIs (e.g., Sorry?) from non-apology-based OCRIs (e.g., Huh?), because the former puts trouble responsibility on the recipient of a trouble-source turn, whereas the latter attributes the responsibility to the speaker of a trouble-source turn. The OCRI ("what," line 11) produced in overlap with Minji's turn, along with the frowning facial expression which appears to display epistemic difficulty (Kaukomaa, Peräkylä, & Ruusuvuori, 2014), seems to place the trouble responsibility on the trouble-source speaker, Minji.

In response to an OCRI like "what," the trouble speaker may provide self-repair as either a repeat or near-repeat of the trouble-source turn (Schegloff, 1997) or in the form of a nonverbatim-repeat response that involves "some type of replacement or revision of the trouble source" (Robinson, 2006, p. 150). Surprisingly, however, the customer does not look at Minji even though she is made relevant to provide a repair. Instead, she continues to focus on the notice for 2.6 seconds in lines 12-14 (Frame 4).

In Chapter 6, I presented a practice in which the customers attempted to resolve the intersubjective problem by referring to the notice as a way to minimally relax the sequential progressivity within the embodied participation framework. In Excerpt 7.1, we see the customer referring to the notice even *after* initiating repair. Although it is made relevant for Minji to provide a self-repair, she visibly does not take the turn to respond. Rather, she waits, as indicated by how she shrugs her shoulders and bows her head, while continuing to watch the customer (Frame 4). Taken together, the customer's 2.6-second uninterrupted reading (lines 12-14) is an interactional achievement, co-constructed by both participants. As such, both participants orient to the notice as the repair solution for the trouble source in the other-initiated repair sequence.

The following analysis of the remaining turns in Excerpt 7.1 shows how the customer's reading action becomes consequential for the organization of the ongoing repair activity.

[Excerpt 7.1b, case 3, Recording #10, 01/11/13]

```
10 →        oke[ : ? ]
                +frown/GZ notice
11 → C:       +[what,]
12 →        (1.6)
            C: silently reads the notice (F4)
            MJ: ducks her head and then crouches & GZ C (F4)

                +GZ notice
13 → C:     +°for under°
14 →        (0.5)
            C: silently reads the notice
            MJ: GZ C

                +GZ C
15 → MJ:    +only [twenty cents +charge
   C:       +GZ the notice              +GZ MJ
                    +shakes head
16 → C:             [+only f-
```

Frame 4.

17 → + only+ five
MJ: +smile

18 → (1.4)
MJ: sticks head out/puzzled face (F5)
C: GZ notice with eyes squinted

Frame 5.

+GZ notice
19 → C: +ten: +limit↓ ((reading voice))
MJ: +GZ notice

+GZ/PT notice +GZ C
20 → MJ: +ye:ah yeah ten limit yeah un+der::+↑+(0.4)
C: +GZ notice x +GZ MJ +GZ notice
C: +raises eyebrow & nods

+GZ C
21 → MJ: +yeah- twenny centu charge.
C: +GZ notice

22 → (0.7)
MJ: GZ C
C: nods & GZ notice

+nods
23 → C: +↑°okay°.=
MJ: +GZ C

+touches items +GZ C
24 → MJ: +six te:n:? +(0.7) we charge:, six thirty.
C: +GZ notice +GZ MJ
25 → (0.9)
MJ: GZ C
C: GZ MJ & raises eyebrows then nods

+GZ C
26 → MJ: +okay?
C: +GZ MJ
27 → (0.7)
MJ: GZ C
C: raises eyebrow

+moves toward the credit card machine
28 → MJ: +°ye:ah°
29 (6.6)
C: GZ notice (for 2 seconds), then GZ right

As can be seen in line 12, the customer initially reads the notice silently, her gaze fixed on the notice indicated by her moving lips but without sound. Then, in a low voice, she begins to read audibly the last part of the notice "for under" (line 13), and resumes reading the notice silently (line 14). After this lengthy 2.6-second reading, Minji and the customer simultaneously attempt to take the floor (lines 15-16), and the customer abandons the turn. This turn-yielding shows that

the reading of the notice did not resolve the customer's trouble, and thus she lets Minji provide a self-repair.

Minji attempts self-repair only after the customer's lengthy reading. But in response to the OCRI, Minji tries to make the transaction fee appear small by using a descriptive resource, "only" (line 15), known as an extreme case proportional formulation (ECPF) (Pomerantz, 1986, p. 228). Pomerantz observed that such a descriptive practice is used to "defend against or to counter challenges to the legitimacy of complaints, accusations, justifications, and defenses" (p. 219). By describing the fee as a small amount, Minji demonstrates her orientation to the fee as the actual trouble source. In other words, the self-repair shows that Minji treats the abrupt OCRI "what" (line 11) with a frown and the ensuing delay as the display of a disaffiliative stance toward the amount of the transaction fee.

The self-repair does not restore understanding, as indicated by the customer's lack of response and her continuing focus on the notice. With a head-shake, she utters, "only five" (line 17), which is hearably a reinitiation of the abandoned turn (line 16). The customer's utterance of "only five" (line 17) appears to refer to the increased amount because of the additional purchase of a phone card (lines 4-7). By indicating the increased purchase amount with an ECPF "only", it seems that the customer is beginning to dispute the imposition of the transaction fee. The customer's accompanying head-shake (line 17) signals her epistemic stance that she does not understand the legitimacy of the transaction fee, and so treats it as unacceptable.

Despite the customer's apparent disagreement with the fee, Minji does not appear to understand the import of the customer's utterance ("only five" in line 17). This is evidenced by the 1.4-second silence (line 18) that belongs to Minji, during which she leans her head forward and changes her facial expression from a smile (line 17) to what appears as a puzzled look,

vividly captured in Frame 5. Minji's failure to grasp the import of the utterance "only five" (line 17) seems to be the result of her interpreting the utterance as part of the customer's continuing to read aloud within the embodied participation framework. This is probably because the customer produced the utterance while looking at the notice and also because the utterance "only five" is not part of the text on the notice (see Fig. 7.1)

Figure 7.1 Notice of the Store's Card Payment Policy

During the 1.4-second gap (line 18), the customer again focuses on the notice as indicated by her squinted eyes. She reads aloud the first line of the text, "ten limit" with flat reading intonation (line 19). This public reading activity is similar to what Tommie (1999) called "premising work" (cited in Rooksby, 2011), in which, by reading out loud, "a participant draws the attention of one or more co-participants to some parts of text for a particular purpose" (p. 183). The action initiated through the out-loud reading, "ten limit" (line 19), appears to continue to problematize the legitimacy of the transaction fee on the basis that the store policy does not apply to her transaction because the total (i.e., $6.10 in line 8) is less than $10.

This dispute is apparently based on the customer's *literal* reading of the beginning component of the notice, "$10 LIMIT FOR CARD TRANSACTION," as *limit* means to "restrict or confine within limits" (limit, n.d.-a). Minji, however, treats this utterance as a confirmation request. In an attempt to self-repair, she engages in joint attention to the notice, as indicated by

her gaze and pointing gesture toward the notice. She emphatically confirms the customer's reading ("ten limit") with "yeah yeah" and a verbatim repeat of "ten limit" stressing the second position to do the work of confirmation (Schegloff, 1996a). This confirming repetition suggests that Minji has treated the customer's utterance as a sign of trouble in interpreting the meaning of the text on the notice. This is evidenced by Minji's continuing self-repair (lines 20-21), which can be glossed as reading for the customer.

While continuing to gaze at and point to the notice, Minji chops up the text on the notice by inserting an emphatic "yeah" (line 20) with elongation while monitoring the customer's ongoing understanding as indicated by the shift in her gaze. The customer meets Minji's gaze with a lifting of eyebrows, providing an embodied continuer (line 20). Minji then states the amount of the transaction fee (line 21). This re-informing is done essentially by repeating the latter part of the trouble-source turn (line 9). Minji carefully breaks up the multi-unit expression into several smaller units by inserting yeahs, elongation, and intra-turn gap, and she modifies the suprasegmental features of the multi-unit expression (lines 20-21). These temporal adjustment can be described as some features of so-called foreigner talk (Hatch, Shapira, & Gough, 1978; Markee, 2008; Tarone, 1980), showing that Minji has treated the customer's audible reading as evidence that the customer is not a fluent reader in English.

The customer does not respond to Minji, indicated by the 0.7-second silence (line 22), but continues to focus on the notice while nodding. She then quietly utters "okay" in line 23. Not treating this response as acceptance of the fee, Minji tries another self-repair by explaining the calculation of the total amount with the fee added: "six te:n:? (0.7) we charge:, six thirty" (line 24). By so doing, Minji shows her understanding of the customer's delayed sotto voce response (line 23) as an indication of the customer's problem of calculation of the total with the addition

of the transaction fee. In line 27, the customer still reluctantly agrees to pay the transaction fee as indicated by her repeated eyebrow-raising (lines 25 and 27) although Minji pursued verbal agreement (line 26).

In sum, the customer's OIs suggested two types of problems: the abrupt sequential shift (line 11) and the legitimacy of the transactional fee (lines 17 and 19). Minji initially received the OCRI with a frown ("what," in line 9) as an indication of an acceptability problem with the amount of the transaction fee. Minji then treated the notice as the trouble source based on her assessment of the customer's literacy skills in English (lines 18 and 20-21). She thus attempted a self-repair by reading the notice with the practices of foreigner talk. Finally, she also viewed the trouble to be the calculation of the new total (line 24). These three types of Minji's self-repairs described above make clear that Minji did not precisely understand the work of the OIs. Robinson (2006) asserted that open-class OI formats are vulnerable to being perceived as indications of a disaffiliative stance, and Kaukoimaa et al., (2014) illustrated cases in which turn-initial frowns are used to foreshadow a disjunctive or disaffiliative move. The literature on preference organization also reports that delays are one of the primary dispreference markers (Pomerantz, 1984; Pomerantz & Heritage, 2012). From these perspectives, it appears that Minji relied on more commonly observable meanings of open-class OIs, frowns, and delays without precisely understanding the context-specific work of those resources during the repair activity.

Minji demonstrates similar orientations to the customer's audible reading in another OI activity that occurred during the informing sequence. This OI activity was recorded three weeks after the previous excerpt. Excerpt 7.2 begins when the customer approaches the check-out counter with items and Minji begins calculating the total cost (line 3).

[Excerpt 7.2a, case 4, Recording #11, 02/01/13]

03 (25.0)
MJ: operates the cash register
C: stands in front of the check-out counter

+GZ down +GZ C +GZ notice (F1) +GZ C (F2)
04 → MJ: +yeah +<we limit+ te:n under twenny+ centu charge oka::y?>=
05 → C: =>+what was that-↑<
MJ +GZ C
06 → (0.5)
MJ: GZ turns to notice

Frame 1.

Frame 2.

+GZ notice +GZ C +downward head-stroke +GZ C (frozen posture) (F3)
07 → MJ: +m +>we limi +ten< +(0.6)

08 → C: ten for[:(car::d)]

+GZ notice +head-stroke +head-stroke
09 → MJ: [+yea:h]+yeah- +unde:r:↓↑
+GZ C
10 → (0.3)olly <+twenny centu charge.>
11 → (1.6)
MJ: GZ C

Frame 3.

12 → C: +m so::[:
MJ: +GZ C
+torso moves toward cash register
13 → MJ: [>+yeah yeah-< uh::: <↑seven sixty eight↑>
+GZ cash register +torso moves back toward C
14 → +we fay +<seven↑ ↓eighty eight.>
15 → (0.8)
MJ: GZ C

16 → C: +¿m::: (0.3) >yah that's +fine<=
MJ: +GZ C +GZ down

+GZ/moves toward POS station
17 MJ: =+yah. (.) thank ↑you
18 (6.8)
MJ: GZ down and operates the POS terminal
Gives receipt to C
Waits for C to sign with GZ downward mid-distance

Note. The customer is not captured in the frame of the video recording.

After finishing the calculation, Minji moves to the check-out counter where she finds a card (line 3). She acknowledges receipt of the card as the selected payment method and begins to inform the customer of the store policy by using the fixed multi-unit expression (line 4) but without

announcing the total. Minji probably believed that the customer had already seen the total by looking at the cash register's screen.

Minji uses the same practice described in the previous analysis of the informing sequences. With her gaze and body position (Frame 1), she draws the customer's attention to the notice. Similar to Excerpt 7.1, the initiation of a new sequence (line 4) appears to have constituted an abrupt sequential shift, as indicated by the customer's immediate initiation of repair through an OCRI (line 5). The trouble source is presented as a hearing problem: "what was th<u>a</u>t-↑" (line 5), implying that the customer assumes responsibility for the trouble. In response, Minji again glances at the notice for 0.5-second (line 6), thus drawing the customer's attention, then responds to the OCRI. With her gaze (Frame 1), Minji uses the notice as a relevant resource to complete the repair; the repair solution consists of a partial verbatim repeat, "we limi ten" (line 7).

While Minji stands still and waits for 0.6 seconds (line 7), she monitors the customer's response (Frame 3). As Minji's self-repair does not resolve the customer's trouble, he continues the repair activity by reading aloud the first line of text on the notice (see Fig. 7.1), "ten for: car::d" (line 8), in reading intonation. As was discussed in the previous analysis of Excerpt 7.1, this audible reading can be understood as conducting premising work. While the female customer in Excerpt 7.1 contested the imposition of the transaction fee, the male customer in this excerpt appears to attempt to understand Minji's informing turn by reading aloud the notice as a repair solution.

As he reads aloud, the customer skips the word "LIMIT" from the text, as if to avoid reading it (cf. Markee, 2011). This particular manner of reading the notice becomes consequential to the organization of the ongoing repair activity. While the customer is reading,

Minji looks at the notice and makes repeated response tokens “yeah yeah” (line 9) through which she confirms the customer’s reading in the prior turn and also claims incipient speakership (Jefferson, 1984), corroborated when the customer stops reading the notice (line 8). Minji then looks at the customer and continues the self-repair through a near repeat of the remaining fixed multi-unit expression: “unde:r:↓↑ (0.3) olly <twenny centu charge>” (line 10). In contrast to her earlier rapid production of “>we limi ten<” (line 7), Minji now produces the self-repair (line 10) in a markedly slow pace ostensibly for the ease of listening, which is similar to the features of foreigner talk. Maintaining this slow pace, Minji applies elongation, inserts a 0.3-second intra-turn pause: “unde:r:↓↑ (0.3),” and enunciates “twenny centu charge.” This self-repair shows that Minji treats the customer as having trouble understanding the notice. The way in which Minji produces the self-repair in lines 7, 9, and 10 demonstrates her orientation to the customer’s reading competence in English. In addition, Minji treats the transaction fee as a small amount using the ECPF: “only.”

A lengthy 1.6-second gap follows Minji’s self-repair, indicating the customer’s continuing trouble (line 11). The customer again initiates repair by using a stand-alone, tying device “so” (Raymond, 2004), then leaves it to Minji to produce an appropriate following turn-constructional increment, i.e., an upshot of the prior talk that confirms the link between his earlier repair initiations (lines 5 and 8) and Minji’s self-repair attempts (lines 7, 9-10) (Lerner, 2004). However, Minji does not make a type-conforming increment, but instead produces response tokens in overlap, “yeah yeah-” (line 13), again claiming incipient speakership. While holding the turn with “uh::” (line 14), she overtly checks the total appearing on the cash register screen (line 14) and demonstrates calculation of the total with the transaction fee added, “↑seven sixty eight↑ we fay seven↑ ↓eighty eight” (lines 13-14). Thus, she treats the OI, which requested

a reformulation, as an indicator of a problem of understanding about how the total was calculated to include the transaction fee. Once again we see Minji's misunderstanding of the work of the OI through the tying device "so." In response, the customer reluctantly accepts the transaction fee as indicated by the 0.8-second gap (line 15) and a hesitation marker (line 16). However, this understanding appears to be based on his misunderstanding of the policy, which will be discussed below.

The customer's acceptance of the transaction fee (line 16) is based on his misunderstanding of the store policy as a federal law, which seems to be the result of how the calculation was demonstrated (lines 14-15). This misunderstanding clearly shows that the customer's trouble source is that he did not grasp the reason for the imposition of the transaction fee, which means that he did not understand the store's card payment policy that Minji explained through the multi-unit expression (line 4). The following analysis provides the evidence for the customer's misunderstanding and looks at how Minji deals with this misunderstanding.

[Excerpt 7.2b, case 4, Recording# 11, 02/01/13]

19 → C: <Obama +new law> yeah?=
MJ: +GZ C

+GZ down +GZ C +GZ down
20 → MJ: =+h +huh huh +huh
21 → (0.8)
MJ: GZ down with a smile

22 → C: °we +don't know nothing°.+
MJ: +GZ C +GZ down
23 (7.4)
MJ: moves to cash register and rips receipt off from credit card machine.
gives the receipt to C with GZ down

24 → C: he +said he born Hawaii but- (0.7)
MJ: +GZ C
MJ: +Moves to C and gives the receipt

25 → +I don't think he Hawaiian.+
MJ: +GZ C +GZ down

26 → (5.5)
MJ: GZ down
MJ: gives C receipt
C: signs on the receipt gives it to MJ

After the customer accepts the transaction fee, Minji initiates an authorization process by operating the POS terminal (line 18). As the transaction is approved, Minji issues a receipt and asks the customer to sign it to validate the transaction (line 18). While signing, the customer requests confirmation by saying, "<Obama new law> yeah?" (line 19). This confirmation request reveals the customer's mistaken understanding that the policy reflects a newly established federal law. This understanding appears to be the result of Minji's use of the first person plural pronoun "we" in demonstrating the calculation ("↑seven sixty eight↑ we fay seven↑ ↓eighty eight" (lines 13-14), as the pronoun suggests that it is the store that is obligated to pay the extra charge. This shows that the customer's misunderstanding could cause a business-related problem if there were no federal law[17] applying to a transaction fee for minimum card transactions. When a reparable is revealed, the slot that follows is a repair opportunity (Schegloff, 1992). However, Minji responds with laughter while averting her gaze (line 20). The laughter shows her orientation to her trouble understanding the customer's action since she leaves the response slot absent (cf. Kurhila, 2006[18]). In this case, her laughter clearly reveals that she did not understand the import of the customer's sequence-initiating action.

When the customer initiates the small-talk sequence (Holmes, 2000; McCarthy, 2000) with the confirmation request (line 19), Minji does not maintain eye contact; instead, she continues to shift her gaze (lines 20-22). This is probably because maintaining eye contact establishes engagement in face-to-face interaction (C. Goodwin, 1980). In this way, Minji avoids

[17] As of January 27, 2013, merchants are allowed to impose checkout fees of up to 4% when customers use Visa and MasterCard credit cards, and may continue to apply a surcharge Discover and American Express under a federal court case settlement (cf. http://www.creditcards.com/credit-card-news/credit -card-surcharges-allowed-1281.php). However, in order to impose a fee, retailers were required to register with the card networks in advance. Minji was not aware of Mitch Goldstone's victory of this lawsuit and also did not register with the card companies. Although it is possible that the customer was aware of the result of the settlement, it seems unlikely based on the preceding repair sequence as well as the following complaint sequence.

[18] Kurhila (2006) noted, "the NNS marks a particular linguistic unit as being problematic by e.g. leaving it incomplete or framing it with laughter, and the NS constructs her turn in such a way that she can incorporate the target form in the utterance" (p. 50).

developing the small talk and passes on repairing the customer's misunderstanding, and the customer interprets Minji's laughter as confirmation of his understanding of the policy. Based on this established understanding, the customer launches a complaint sequence, holding President Obama responsible for the new law (lines 22-25). Minji's gaze shifts when the customer initiates the complaint sequence (line 22). At the end of the customer's complaint where Minji's response is made relevant, whether it is an agreement or disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984), she again looks away from the customer. This clearly demonstrates her avoidance to participate in the complaint sequence initiated by the customer.

In line 23 Minji leaves the check-out counter to work alone operating the POS terminal, and she completely disengages from the complaint activity. After a 7.4-second silence (line 23), the customer resumes complaining about President Obama (lines 24-25); but Minji does not respond to the customer's negative assessment. Instead, she looks down at the transition-relevance place (lines 25), and once again, avoids responding in the next turn. During the 5.5-second silence (line 26), her gaze restlessly moves between the check-out counter and the customer with a somewhat forced smile. In this manner, Minji continues not to join in developing the complaint sequence; but, by showing her attention through gaze and smile to the customer's turn initiations, she skillfully attempts not to disaffiliate with the customer.

Based on the analysis of Excerpts 7.1 and 7.2, two observations can be drawn. First, Minji misanalyzed the customers' local practices within the embodied participation framework. Through OCRIs (*what?* In Excerpt 7.1 and *what was that?* in Excerpt 7.2), both customers initiated repair on Minji's fixed expression deployed in the first position and then began to focus on the notice prior to Minji's self-repairs. Their uninterrupted focus on the notice indicates both the customers and Minji were oriented to the notice as the repair solution. Both customers

initiated premising work—by reading aloud some part of the text on the notice either to contest the legitimacy of the transaction fee (Excerpt 7.1) or as an attempt to understand the informing turn (Excerpt 7.2). The female customer in Excerpt 7.1 contested the transaction fee based on her literal reading of the notice; and the male customer in Excerpt 7.2 failed to understand the regulatory part of the policy. Minji, however, misunderstood the customers' OIs: she treated "only five" in Excerpt 7.1 and the absence of "Limit" in Excerpt 7.2 as evidence of weak reading skills in English. The practices of foreigner talk clearly showed Minji's orientations to the customers' English competence.

Secondly, Minji's misunderstandings of the OIs appear to have historical and environmental references. As demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, many customers made sense of Minji's informing practice by drawing on their prior knowledge or on the content of the notice itself. The achievements of understanding in the informing sequences repeatedly ratified the intelligibility of Minji's use of the idiosyncratic fixed expressions and of the notice. With these successful interactional experiences, Minji appears to have understood customers' delayed responses after reading the notice as prefiguring a disaffiliative stance related to the amount of the transactional fee. Also, Minji made sense of the customers' lengthy audible reading (Excerpts 7.1 and 7.2) during the repair activities as indicating their problematic functional literacy skills. This also indicates that Minji drew on her local knowledge as a resource based on her experiences of service encounters with local customers from the neighborhood in the Pacific Mountain community, who use English as a second language (see Section 4.2 , the area's demographic and linguistic information).

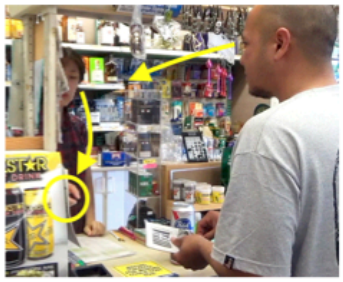
7.3 An Acceptability and Calculation Problem as Trouble Source

This section continues to focus on participants' trouble management by exploring repair initiation formats and repair solutions. The two excerpts below show that Minji treats the customers' trouble as a problem of acceptability (Svennevig, 2008) or a problem with the calculation of the total purchase. This section also discusses Minji's routinized repair solutions.

The excerpt referenced below was recorded in July 2014 toward the end of the data collection period. Excerpt 7.3 is a case in which the customer requests information on the store's payment policy, which exhibits his knowledge about card payment conventions in Hawai'i. The excerpt begins when Minji laughs after responding to the customer's request for an unavailable item and checks the total (Frame 1).

[Excerpt 7.3, case 17, Recording #39, 07/11/14]

		+GZ C	
18	MJ:	+two: fourteen.	
19		(1.1)	
		C: thinking face in a frozen posture	
		+frown	
20 →	C:	+need ten dollars yea↑ for use ↓ca:rd=	
		+GZ notice +PT C +PT notice (F1) +GZ C	
21 →	MJ:	=+↑m:↓ +↑you can +↑u:su↓ olly+ +↑twenny °cent charge.°	
	C:	+GZ MJ +GZ notice (F2)	
22		(2.6)	
		C: slightly moves to the right and looks at the notice	
		MJ: GZ C	
		+GZ/PT notice +GZ C	
23 →	MJ:	+not bad twenny +centu	
	C:	+GZ notice	
24		(0.7)	
		C: GZ notice	
		MJ: GZ C	
		+GZ MJ +touches items	
25 →	C:	+what'yu mean +like-	
26		(0.7)	
		MJ: "oh"-shaped mouth	



Frame 1.

Frame 2.

+moves to cash register +looks at the cash register screen
27 → MJ: yeah- uh +yeah +yeah +(0.4) +uh:::

+GZ C + moves to counter
28 → pay two: four+teen↑ +you pay two:: (0.3) thir-ty four.
29 (0.8)
MJ & C: mutual gaze

+GZ notice
30 → C: thirty +four¿

+two fingers
31 → MJ: +yeah +twenty centu charge.
C: +GZ notice

32 → (0.4)
C: Slightly moves to right/GZ notice

+GZ notice +GZ MJ & frown/smiley +pick up beer
33 → C: +uh:ah (0.6) +>that's okay. +°that's o[kay°
34 MJ: [ah ha ha ha

+moves back
35 → C: <[°that's alright°] +[that's alright]
36 MJ: [$yeah : : $] [heh heh heh]
37 (12.2)
C: returns items

38 C: thank you.
39 MJ: uh h sorry::

Note. The question in line 20 exemplifies the grammatical features of a yes/no question in Pidgin (Hawai'i Creole English) (Sakoda & Siegel, 2003, p. 87).

Minji announces the total cost (line 18), and the customer asks about the minimum purchase policy through a yes-no question: "need ten dollars yea↑ for use ↓ca:rd" (line 20). Minji does not respond with the conditionally relevant information about the minimum in the form of a type-conforming response, namely confirmation or disconfirmation (Raymond, 2003), but instead provides a correction and information about the amount of the transaction fee: "↑*m*:↓ ↑you can ↑u:su↓ olly ↑twenny °cent charge.°" (line 21).

The customer does not appear to understand this response, as indicated by the 2.5-second gap (line 22), probably because Minji's answer is not the response type made conditionally relevant by the confirmation request (line 20). Also, Minji implemented two actions (i.e., permission and informing of the amount of the transaction fee) in a single turn in the response

slot in the question-and-answer sequence. The boundary of the two actions is marked prosodically (i.e., falling intonation on "↑u:su↓") and gesturally (i.e., gaze shift from the customer toward the notice, line 21). But the TCUs of the two actions are not marked grammatically as the TCUs, "olly twenny cent charge," are produced in the slot of the objective of "use" (line 21).

The customer does not respond to Minji's corrective informing turn, which makes relevant a limited range of actions such as acceptance, avoidance, or abandonment. Similar to customer examples presented in Chapter 6, the customer in this excerpt does not initiate repair but instead continues to focus on the notice. He moves slightly, to give him a better view of the notice and reads the notice for 2.6 seconds (line 22). After waiting for 2.6 seconds, Minji construes the continuing silence as an indication of the customer's trouble and so attempts self-repair through an assessment of the transaction fee as "not bad" (line 23). This assessment shows that Minji analyzed the delay as a dispreference marker, evidence of the customer's reluctance to accept the transaction fee because of the amount, that is, what Svennevig (2008) referred to as a problem of acceptability. Minji's assessment of the fee alludes to transaction fees that are charged by other businesses in Hawai'i. As demonstrated, Minji highlights the amount of the transaction fee as small during the repair activities. She reported that other convenience stores usually charge 35 cents or more and that they also do not accept card payments for purchases less than $10. Thus it appears that she considered her store policy more lenient than other card payment policies.

The customer's continuing focus on the notice (line 24), even after Minji's self-repair, suggests that the trouble is unresolved. Indeed, the customer initiates repair (line 25). By the time the customer initiates the repair, he has been looking at the notice for 4.5 seconds (lines 22 to 24).

The OI, “what’yu mean like-” (line 25), signals a problem understanding Minji’s answer (line 20) and the self-repair (line 23). Through the OI, the customer clearly attributes the trouble-responsibility to Minji and asks her to reformulate her reply.

Minji’s facial expression, an o-shaped mouth (line 26), appears to display surprise that the trouble persists, probably because she expected that her self-repair addressed the problem of acceptability that she construed as the trouble source. In response to the OI, Minji does not reformulate the informing turn but instead demonstrates how she calculated the total to include the transaction fee: “pay two: fourteen you pay two:: (0.3) thir-ty four.” (line 28). This self-repair does not bear on the OI that made relevant a reformulation of the informing. Thus the self-repair clearly shows that Minji misconstrued the OI as indicating a problem with the calculation, while the OI format overtly indicated the customer’s problem understanding Minji’s informing practice deployed in the second position.

The customer repeats the part of the announcement about the higher total “thirty four” (line 30) with slightly rising intonation, indicating difficulty grasping the turn as a response to his OI. However, Minji interprets this response as a request for confirmation (line 31) and repeats the amount of the transaction fee with an iconic gesture (line 31) (McNeill, 1992), thus still looking at a calculation problem as the trouble source.

These self-repair attempts do not resolve the customer’s trouble as indicated by his failure to accept the repair solution and to resume the ongoing payment activity. Instead, the customer moves slightly to the right and again looks intently at the notice while pausing and sounding puzzled (line 33). The customer then cancels the transaction, saying, “that’s okay that’s okay” with numerous dispreference markers as expressed by silence and a half-smile (lines 32-33). Abandonment of the transaction appears to result from his trouble understanding Minji’s

informing action; however, Minji treats this abandonment as evidence of the customer's understanding of the informing. She thus acknowledges the cancelation with remedial laughter (Gavoli, 1995). This transaction appears to be the only case where the customer's understanding problem resulted in abandonment of a transaction in the corpus.

In Excerpt 7.4 below, Minji treats the customer's trouble also as a problem of calculation and acceptability while the OI indicates the minimum as the trouble source. In this excerpt, Minji notifies the store policy in the first position by using the fixed multi-unit expression. (This data comes from the final recording, #45.)

Prior to events in the excerpt, customer 3 (C3) approached the check-out counter with two bottles of beer, and Minji began to calculate the total purchase (line 5). In lines 6-11, the customer asks about an item, and Minji responds that it is not available.

[Excerpt 7.4a, case 24, Recording #45, 10/10/14]

```
                +F1    +GZ C   +GZ card
13      MJ:     +*ya+h:::+:* (0.4) pleasu a[i di↑
14      C3:                                [ai di?
15      MJ:     yeah h h
16              (1.3)
                C: pulls out ID from wallet

17      C3:     +no worry I'm not +(bea:ch)=
        MJ:     +GZ ID                +leans toward right
18      MJ:     =yeah: h
19              (1.4)
                MJ: GZ credit card
                C: GZ down
                          +GZ/PT notice                  +GZ C3 (F2)
20 ➔    MJ:     +yeah-'h +WE limit+ ten: under +twenny centu charge okay?
        C3:     +GZ MJ                +GZ notice (F1)
21 ➔            (0.8)
                C3:  GZ beers on the counter
                MJ: GZ C
```

Frame 1.

Frame 2.

```
                +PT beers
22 ➔ C3:   +so: how much [this:.
23    C1:                [hey we're ([not          ]
                                    +GZ/lean toward cash register
24    MJ:                           +[uh: : : : : (0.7)
```

The customer gives Minji a credit card as the payment method (line 13), but it appears that Minji expected to receive an ID, legally required to purchase liquor. Minji requests an ID (line 13), and they go through an ID-checking sequence (lines 13-19).

After the ID-checking sequence (lines 13-19), Minji informs the customer of the store policy using the same gestures (Frame 1) and fixed multi-unit expression (line 20). Minji's gestures draw the customer's attention to the notice (Frame 2). The customer does not respond. Instead, after the 0.8-second focus on the notice, he looks toward the beer bottles placed on the check-out counter and asks about the total cost. His question initiates a pre-second insert sequence (Schegloff, 2007) as he needs the information about the total to respond to implementation of the policy (e.g., buying more goods to exceed the minimum amount). In doing so, the customer demonstrates his understanding of the policy.

[Excerpt 7.4b, case 24, Recording #45, 10/10/14]

```
                +PT beers
22 ➔ C3:   +so: how much [this:.
23    C1:                [hey we're ([not          ]
                                    +GZ/lean toward cash register
24    MJ:                           +[uh: : : : : (0.7)

25    MJ:   original [pur↑ice- (.)
                      +looks back at C1
26    C3:            [+bro
27    C1:   uh:,
28    MJ:   five nine[ty      six:                ]
29    C3:            >[I'm putting them in my bag?]<
30          (1.0)
            MJ: GZ C1
            C3: GZ at the back

            +head-turn to MJ
31    C3:   +five
                      +leans/GZ cash register
32    MJ:   yeah. 'h +you-
      C3:            +looks at the back
33          (1.1)
            C3: GZ MJ
```

+nods +GZ cash register

34 → MJ: +yeah >five nineny< six:u? +you: +pay::[::,

C3: +looks at the back

35 C3: [soda

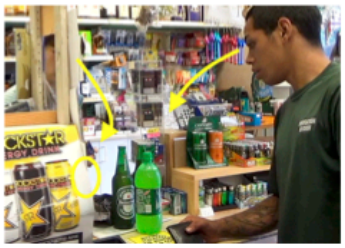
36 (0.7)

37 C2: ( )

38 C1: ( )

39 (7.2)

C1: hands a can of soda to C3
C3: puts the can on the counter
MJ: calculates the can



Frame 3.

+shakes head

40 → MJ: +not enough

41 (1.3)

C3: turns back and moves, and then comes back

+GZ notice

42 → C3: +twenny↑ ↓dolla[r

+PT/GZ notice (F3) +GZ C3

43 → MJ: +[a-↑ai- °y° o:lly +twenny centu charge.

C3: + silently reads (F3) ((indicated by moving eyes))

+ shakes head

44 → +twenny cen not- +(0.4)[[not bad.

C3: +GZ notice

+GZ notice
+moves to the back

45 → C3: +[o[h+:

46 (13.1)

C3: moves to the back of the store and brings a snack

Minji announces the total amount due (lines 24-25, 28), but is interrupted by a conversation between the customer and his companion (C1), who had entered the store with the customer (lines 23-32). Minji then suspends her response (line 30) for 1.0-second. After the customer reengages with Minji in line 33, Minji shows him how she calculated the total to include the transaction fee (line 34). Near the end of the calculation, C3 and C1 have another conversation (lines 35 and 39). Minji recalculates the total by including the can of soda (line 39) and informs C3 that the total still does not exceed the minimum: "not enough" (line 40).

The customer then moves toward the back of the store to obtain more items probably to purchase so as to exceed the minimum for transaction (line 41). But he soon returns to the counter and requests confirmation of the minimum amount marked by rising and falling intonation: "twenny↑ ↓dollar" (line 42). Minji notices a reparable in this confirmation request,

and thus she signals a problem with the customer's understanding, using a disaffiliate stance marker, "*ai,*" which is a Korean exclamation used to preface a disaffiliative or disaligning turn (cf. M. S. Kim, 2014), but she does not actually problematize the customer's understanding as she projected through "*ai.*" Instead, she repeats the amount of the transaction fee using an ECPF: "o:lly twenny centu charge" (line 43) while making reference to the notice (Frame 3). In addition, she makes assessment of the transaction fee: "twenny cen not- (0.4) not bad" (line 44). This assessment shows Minji's orientation to the OI as the customer's reluctance to accept the fee because of the amount rather than because of misrecognition of or forgetting the minimum.

During Minji's self-repair (lines 43-44) the customer intently looks at the notice for about 4 seconds (lines 42-44) until he claims understanding using a stand-alone "oh" in line 45. This claim appears to be the result of reading the notice rather than the self-repair evidenced by the placement of the claim of understanding. In line 47, the customer demonstrates understanding by going to the back of the store again and returning to the counter with a snack. The analysis thus shows that the customer has resolved the trouble source by reading the notice.

The analysis in this section demonstrate that Minji did not recognize the exact trouble sources. She attempted self-repairs using a limited range of fixed solutions: namely, rendering the fee as a small amount and demonstrating the calculation of the total. In so doing, Minji viewed the customers as responsible for the trouble and did not grasp the trouble sources in the way that the numerous OIs indicated. The customer in Excerpt 7.3 canceled the transaction seemingly due to the difficulty understanding Minji's informing deployed in second position; and the customer in Excerpt 7.4 purchased more items to avoid the fee. Importantly, Minji treated these actions as a range of next actions relevant to her informing action. In other words, Minji concluded that her repair practices successfully restored understanding in the repair sequences.

7.4 Customer's (Potential) Misunderstanding as Trouble Source

In the previous sections, I showed how Minji attempts to complete the repair with itemized repair solutions that do not precisely bear on the import of the OIs. In addition to trying self-repair in other-initiated repair sequences during the informing sequences, Minji often attempted other-repair to restore understanding or to prevent misunderstanding. I focus on these correction practices to demonstrate Minji's analysis of the interactional problems during the informing sequences. The first subsection looks at corrections occurring in Minji-initiated informing sequences. The second subsection presents Minji's preemptive correction in response to customers' requests for information about the store's card-payment policy.

7.4.1 Minji's correction at customers' misunderstanding

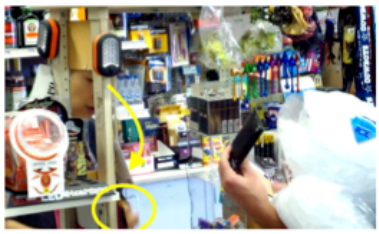
The two excerpts presented in the first subsection illustrate how Minji completes OI without viewing the trouble sources in the way that customers indicate. The analysis reveals that Minji uses routinized solutions when providing correction in the repair activities that occur during the informing sequences. The data below was recorded in March 2013. The data begins when the customer goes to the back of the store to pick up some ice (line 23).

[Excerpt 7.5, case 5, Recording #13, 03/29/13]

23 (29.0) ((the video starts)
MJ: calculates the total payment by operating the cash register
C: holds out a credit card toward MJ
MJ: takes the card from C

+GZ/PT notice (F1) **+GZ C** **+RH home position**

24 → MJ: +yeah.(.) we limit +te:n under twenty +centu +charge oka:y↑
C: **+moves back** **+puts down the ice bags**



Frame 1.

25 → (2.1)
C: puts down the ice bags

+GZ C
26 → MJ: +do you have cashi?

27 → (0.8)
MJ: GZ C
C: PT notice

+opens wallet
28 → C: >what+do you guys< +cha[rge.
MJ: +GZ C +GZ notice
π

+GZ/PT notice (F2)
29 → MJ: +[ai- (0.3)

Frame 2.

+GZ/PT notice +GZ C
30 → MJ: you [can ↑+u:su↓ =+yeah
31 → C: [how mu-

+GZ down
+RH home position
32 → MJ: olly twe[nny +cents +char-] yeah
33 → C: >[yeah- yeah- yeah-]<
34 (7.2)
MJ: operates the POS terminal

As the customer approaches the check-out counter carrying bags of ice, Minji begins to calculate the total purchase. The customer holds out a credit card (line 23), which Minji accepts as the selected payment method (line 23). Since the total purchase is less than $10, she initiates the informing sequence using the multi-unit expression ("yeah. (.) we limit te:n under twenty centu charge oka:y↑," line 24). She also incorporates the notice of the policy with her gaze and by pointing (Frame 1).

Overlapping with the informing turn, the customer steps back and puts down the bags of (lines 24-25), an action that Minji treats as a preparatory to pull cash from his wallet. This analysis is confirmed by her a confirmation request: "Do you have cashi?" (line 26). This indicates that Minji treats this behavior as a relevant next action for the informing action and the customer's understanding is indicated in that behavior. The customer's behavior begins only after the first part of the TCUs is deployed ("yeah. (.) we limit," in line 24) where a transition-relevance place has not been projected and no action has yet been foreshadowed (i.e.,

recognitional overlap, Jefferson, 1983). Thus, placement of the embodiment shows that the customer still could understand the projection that the partial TCUs generated because the utterance is placed within the payment activity as a component of the overall sequential organization of the service encounters (Kidwell, 2000) and he drew on his general knowledge of card-transaction in Hawai'i (see Chapter 5). This is corroborated when he opens his wallet (line 28), projecting his plan either to pay the transaction fee with cash or to change the payment method to avoid the transaction fee.

The customer then initiates repair (line 28) by pointing to the notice as a shared reference, which evidences his orientation to Minji's pointing to the notice in the prior turn. The OI in the form of a wh-question (line 28) combined with pointing clearly identifies the amount of the transaction fee as the source of trouble. Minji, however, does not complete the repair through a type-conforming response (Raymond, 2003). Rather surprisingly, she, overlapping the repair initiation, *initiates* and *completes* repair (lines 29-30), and as she does so, treats the customer's repair initiation as evidence of misunderstanding of the informing turn with the non-type-conforming response (Lee, 2012; Raymond, 2003).

Minji initiates repair by using "*ai*" with stress. This Korean turn-initial device is commonly used to treat the prior turn as inadequate and thus to halt the progress of the sequence (M. S. Kim, 2015, p. 770). By using this Korean stance marker, Minji indicates some sort of problem with what the customer did through the question (line 28). But Minji delays completing the correction, which has been foreshadowed by "*ai*" (line 29), thus leaving the 0.3-second pause (line 29). The customer orients to this pause as indicating Minji's problem understanding the OI. In response, he reformulates the OI ("what do you guys charge?) heard as "how mu(ch)" (line 31). This reformulation shows that the customer did not grasp the import of the "*ai*." But he soon

abandons the reformulation in progress, as indicated by the post-positioned cut-off as Minji resumes her turn in overlap.

Minji completes the repair by providing a correction proper sounding somewhat like a clarification ("you can u:su"). She also links the notice of the policy to her utterance through gazing and pointing. The correction, "you can ↑u:su↓ yeah" (line 30) treats the OI as revealing the customer's misunderstanding of her informing turn that he cannot purchase less than $10 by card. After this correction, Minji monitors the customer's response as indicated by her gaze shift toward the customer (line 32).

The 0.3-second gap that follows in line 32 shows the absence of the customer's response to this correction attempt. This is probably because the correction is clearly irrelevant to the OI (line 28) directed at the amount of the transaction fee (line 28). Also, the correction might not have been intelligible because Minji dropped the object of the transitive verb, "use" (line 30), evidence of her assumption that the object is recoverable from the previous sequence. This practice can be understood as L1 transfer because in Korean any transitive verb can be used without a direct object in a situation where the referent is assumed to be recoverable from the context (H. Kim, 1989).

Minji treats the 0.3-second silence (line 32) as a delay that prefigures a dispreferred response related to the amount of the fee. Thus, she repeats the amount of the transaction fee together with an EPCF (Pomerantz, 1986), "olly twenny cents char-" in line 33, emphasizing the small amount. This remedial work shows that she treats the 0.3-second silence as evidence that the customer is concerned with the amount of the transaction fee. In this way, Minji analyzes the trouble-source as an acceptability problem (Svennevig, 2008).

The customer receives Minji's near repeat with multiple sayings ("yeah- yeah- yeah-," line 33) in overlap, which suggests that further development of the repair sequence is unnecessary (Stivers, 2004), because the near repeat incidentally addressed the trouble source, that is, the amount of the transaction fee. Minji grasps the meaning of the multiple sayings; so she abruptly ends the near repeat ("char-") and provides a response token "yeah" (line 32) terminating the repair sequence. Thus she treats the multiple sayings as an agreement to the policy. She then moves to the POS terminal to begin the authorization process (line 34).

In brief, the analysis clearly shows that Minji does not precisely understands the import of the OI and uses routinized solutions to repair the trouble source. As a result, Minji is not oriented to the actual trouble source in her informing practice indicated by the customer's OI.

While the previous excerpt showed that Minji misunderstood the customer's OI, the next excerpt (7.6) shows an instance in which the customer does reveal an actual misunderstanding of Minji's practice of informing. (Excerpt 7.6 was recorded in June 2014 toward the end of the observation period.) In this excerpt Minji still employs the same practice of informing. Prior to this excerpt, the customer brought a carton of milk to the check-out counter and handed an EBT[19] debit card to Minji. She understood this as selection of the payment method and thus swiped the card through the POS terminal, then asked the customer to enter her PIN. We join the data where the customer makes an additional request for a pack of cigarettes (line 14), and Minji registers the request through a repeat (line 15).

[Excerpt 7.6a, case 15, Recording #38, 06/15/14]

[19] The Hawai'i Electronic Benefit Transfer (HI/EBT) system processes payments for public financial assistance (i.e., childcare), and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). The aim of the SNAP program is to provide nutritious foods to eligible low-income individuals and families. As a general rule, the EBT program does not allow the purchase of nonfood items such as cigarettes and alcohol.

13 (3.8)

14 C: can I um: (0.6) get uh::: (0.7) <Camel Silver↑>

15 MJ: Camel Menthol Silver? yeah

16 (1.0)

17 MJ: s:::::

18 (5.3)

C: enters EBT pin

+puts down cigarettes on the counter

19 MJ: eight thirty↑ :+: : +:

C: +holds out credit card

20 (0.7)

MJ: retracts RH

+GZ notice +PT notice +GZ C

21 → MJ: +yeah +we +limit+ ten under twe+nny [centu charge okay?]

C: +GZ MJ's hand +GZ notice (F1) +GZ down

Frame 1.

+retracts card (F2)

22 → C: [+oh : : : :]=

MJ: +attempt to take the card (F2)

+retracts card/GZ notice (F3)

23 → =+ahm:: how much is it? eight?

Frame 2.

Frame 3.

24 → MJ: eight thirty.

25 (5.0)

C: moves to the right

MJ: operates the POS terminal

26 → C: maybe I'll buy a lighter.

27 (2.3)

MJ: operating the POS terminal

+picks up a lighter +GZ MJ/swings the lighter

28 → C: +'s:- +it wouldn't be enough still +yah? (0.2)

MJ: +operating the POS terminal +GZ C

+GZ notice

29 → +'cause it's ten dollars:?

Minji gives the customer the requested cigarettes and announces the total purchase amount (line 18-9). At the same time, the customer holds out a credit card. Minji understands the embodiment as the customer's selection of the payment method for the cigarettes. As the cigarettes cost less than $10, Minji informs the customer of the store's card payment policy using the fixed multi-unit expression: "yeah we limit ten under twenny cents charge okay?" (line 21). She also connects her utterance with the posted notice with her customary gaze and pointing (Frame 1).

The customer glances at the notice (Frame 1) while Minji is producing "limit" (line 21). The customer then withdraws the card to a home position (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002) shown in Frames 2 and 3 (lines 22-23), thus halting progression of the payment activity. Withdrawal of the card over the production of "oh" demonstrates her understanding of the prior informing turn in progress. The sequential placement of the response indicates that the customer's understanding of the informing is based on her reading of the notice and the initial part of the fixed multi-unit expression.

The customer rechecks the amount owed (line 23), then moves to the right (i.e., outside the view of the camera), explores other items, and verbally glosses her embodiment: "maybe I'll buy a lighter" (line 26). She then moves back to the counter, picks up a lighter (lines 27-28), and requests confirmation for her guess about not meeting the minimum with the additional purchase of the lighter ("It wouldn't be enough still yah? (0.2) 'cause it's ten dollars:?" in lines 28-29). This confirmation request shows that the customer partially understood the store policy as requiring at least a $10 purchase to use a card without grasping the transactional fee option.

[Excerpt 7.6b, case 15, Recording #38, 06/15/14]

+picks up a lighter +GZ MJ/swings the lighter

28 → C: +'s:- +it wouldn't be enough still +yah? (0.2)
MJ: +operating the POS terminal +GZ C

+GZ notice

29 → +'cause it's ten dollars:?
30 → (0.6)
C: places the lighter back

+GZ notice +PT notice +GZ C

31 → MJ: yu- *ai*- +you can +↑u:su↓ +olly twenny centu char+ge.
C: +GZ MJ +GZ notice (F4)
32 → (1.1)
C: GZ notice with a RH frozen posture

+F5 +PT cigarettes

33 → C: +OH: oh yeah +that's fine then

Frame 4.

Frame 5.

34 MJ: +y:eah=
C: +gives credit card to MJ

35 C: =hh= [h h h h
36 MJ: [good hhh

As she operates the POS terminal, Minji does not immediately respond to this confirmation request. The customer appears to treat the lack of response (line 30) as confirmation. Accordingly, she puts the lighter back. This embodiment can be interpreted as abandoning the plan of purchasing a lighter in order to increase the total purchase amount to meet the $10 minimum required for using a credit card. Minji understands the meaning of the embodiment and responds to the customer's request for confirmation with a correction (line 31).

The point at which the customer's misunderstanding is revealed becomes an opportunity for the trouble-source speaker to defend intersubjectivity. This practice is called third-position repair; it occurs in the subsequent sequential context. A speaker produces a turn, and the recipient of the turn readily treats the turn and produces a next turn, which, from the recipient's perspective, is sequentially appropriate to the prior turn. However, the speaker finds the

"meant-to-be-sequentially-appropriate next turn" (Schegloff, 1992, p. 1303) problematic, and thus initiates and completes repair on the trouble-source turn.

Third-position repairs consist of combinations of four main types of components. Particularly relevant to the current subsection are two components that Schegloff (1992) conveniently called the A and D components. The "A" component is used to initiate repair, commonly taking the form of "no" or "oh no." The "D" component is referred to as "the repair proper," in which the speaker conducts some operation or workings on the *trouble-source turn* in order to address the recipient's problematic understanding of the trouble-source turn. Schegloff specified the "D" component by describing six types of operations: clearer repetition; characterization of the trouble-source turn as non-serious; and four types of other operations—contrast, reformulation, specification, and explanation—all framed by "I mean." Common to all of these six types of operations is the speaker's orientation to the trouble-source turn which Schegloff identifies as the crucial criteria for third-position repair.

Given this perspective, we return to the analysis of Excerpt 7.6. In initiating repair (line 31), Minji does not address the trouble-source turn. Rather, she provides a correction in a similar way that she did in Excerpt 7.5. The linguistic devices used for correction are presented in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1 *Turn constructional units of the correction practice*

Case	Excerpt	Date (mm/dd/yy)	Turn Constructional Units			
5	7.5	03/29/13	*ai*- (0.3)	you can ↑u:su↓=yeah	(0.3)	olly twenny cents char-
15	7.7	06/14/14	yu- *ai*-	you can ↑u:su↓		olly twenny centu charge.

Minji begins the correction turn with an audible "you," which appears to be part of the repair proper. But she self-repairs with "*ai,*" which problematizes the action in the prior turn. In the turn that incorporated the repair proper, the first TCU, "you can ↑u:su↓," with an emphasis marked by

stress, elongation, and rising and falling intonation contrasts with the customer's implied understanding of the policy that she is not allowed to pay for the cigarettes with a credit card because they cost less than $10. All of these features of the correction in Excerpt 7.6 are virtually identical to the correction in Excerpt 7.5 as shown in Table 7.1.

The next TCU indicates the amount of the transaction fee with an emphasis on the small amount using an ECPF, "olly twenny cents charge" (line 31). The only difference in the corrections between the current and the previous excerpt is that Minji provides the second TCU in the same turn. This may suggest that Minji's practice for correction is becoming routinized (Günthner, 2011). In this third-position slot to the trouble source, Minji does not attend to the trouble-source turn. Instead, she provides correction, which attributes responsibility for the trouble to the customer.

The remaining analysis of Excerpt 7.6 focuses on how Minji restores understanding. While Minji provides a correction, she also incorporates the notice through her gaze and by pointing. The customer does not, however, respond to the verbal correction (line 32). Instead, she looks at the notice for 2.4 seconds (lines 31-32) indicated by the direction of her gaze and stationary position, which began in line 31 over the production of "olly." The lack of sequential progress in the repair activity appear to indicate that the customer continues to have trouble understanding the correction.

Only after completing this lengthy reading, does the customer indicate understanding through a loud change-of-state token "OH:" in line 33 and breaks from solitary reading with an abrupt hand movement (Frame 5). How she receives the information from her reading of the notice clearly indicates sheer surprise (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). The customer then utters "that's fine then" (line 33) which confirms the conclusion that she was going to abandon

purchase of the cigarettes, which, in turn, also corroborates her misunderstanding of the policy based on Minji's initial informing through the fixed multi-unit expression. The customer's pointing gesture toward the cigarettes on the counter links her utterance ("that's fine then" in line 33) to the cigarettes, thus "that's fine then" is understandable as confirmation of the purchase of the cigarettes. Use of a tying term "then" (Sacks, 1995, p. 716) in the confirmation shows that the customer formulates the affirmation as the result of the reading of the notice.

The above analysis of the two excerpts demonstrated that Minji treats the customer's OI (Excerpt 7.5) or request for confirmation (Excerpt 7.6) as displaying their misunderstandings of the store policy. Minji's corrections offer two interesting observations. First, they address the customer's perceived assumption or an actual misunderstanding without addressing the trouble source turn. In this way, Minji assigns responsibility for the trouble to the customers. Secondly, Minji uses two routinized correction solutions: (1) addressing the problem of acceptability of the amount of the fee through an ECPF "olly" and assessment; and (2) demonstrating the calculation of the total with the transaction fee. Finally, as a secondary result, Minji and the customers successfully restore understanding based on the notice. The successful achievements of understanding appear to verify the effectiveness of Minji's correction practice during the informing sequence. Thus, Minji continues to routinize these correction practices that address the customers' misunderstanding of her informing practice. The following subsection describes how Minji applies correction to address potential misunderstandings proactively.

7.4.2 Minji's preemptive correction in second position

The following two excerpts present cases in which Minji responds to customers' request for information about card payments with sought-for information or correction. As discussed in Section 4.4, Minji uses slightly different linguistic resources when informing customers of the

store policy in the second position. Table 4.3, reproduced from Section 4.4, presents each practice that Minji uses in response to customers' requests for information about the store's card-payment policy.

Table 4.3 *Turn Constructional Units of Informing in the Second Position*

Case	Excerpt	Date (mm/dd/yy)	Turn Constructional Units				
13	6.6	05/16/14	>`hh ↑yeah ↓yeah<	but	we limit ten:↜		
*17	7.3/7.8	07/11/14	↑*m*:↓		↑you can ↑u:su↓		olly ↑twenny °cent charge.°
22	4.3	09/26/14	yeah		ten limit:		
*25	7.8	10/10/14	ye:ah:: (.)	uh: minimum ten	bu:t you can bu::y↑	under:-	olly twenny centu charge.

Note. Cases with an asterisk involve a repair activity.

In the customer-initiated information sequences during the payment activity, Minji uses three types of linguistic formats to inform customers of the store policy. Those formats include: "we limit ten" (Excerpt 6.6), "yeah ten limit" (Excerpt 4.3), and a *you-can-verb* pattern (Excerpt 7.8). Specifically, they respond to customers' questions such as "do you accept ↑cards or no↓" (Excerpt 6.6), "is there minimum amount of- (0.3) card¿" (Excerpt 4.3), or "↓What ↑minimum you gotta pay (.) spend too mu-" (Excerpt 7.8), respectively.

The three formats generate two observations. First, Minji uses part of the multi-unit expression to respond to the customers' request for information about the store payment policy. Thus it shows that the fixed expression is at least partially analyzed into its components (e.g., the use of *limit* as a verb and noun). Second, she sometimes employs another class of fixed expressions that contain the *you-can-verb* pattern for correction. The following two excerpts elaborate on the use of the *you-can-verb pattern* for correcting the perceived customers' assumptions about the store policy prior to the occurrence of an actual problem.

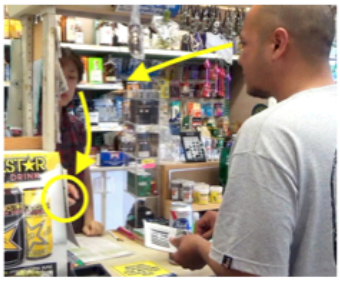
Excerpt 7.7 below was recorded in July 2014, toward the end of the data collection period. The excerpt begins where Minji laughs after giving a non-granting response because the item requested was not in stock (line 15).

[Excerpt 7.7, case 17, Recording #39, 07/11/14]

+GZ C
18 MJ: +two: fourteen.
19 (1.1)
C: thinking face in a frozen posture

+frown
20 ➔ C: +need ten dollars yea↑ for use ↓ca:rd=

+GZ notice +PT C +PT notice (F1) +GZ C
21 ➔ MJ: =+↑m:↓ +↑you can +↑u:su↓ olly+ +↑twenny °cent charge.°
C: +GZ MJ +GZ notice (F2)



Frame 1.

Frame 2.

22 (2.6)
C: slightly moves to the right and looks at the notice
MJ: GZ C

+GZ/PT notice +GZ C
23 ➔ MJ: +not bad twenny +centu
C: +GZ notice
24 (0.7)
C: GZ notice
MJ: GZ C

+GZ MJ +touches items
25 ➔ C: +what'yu mean +like-
26 (0.7)
MJ: "oh"-shaped mouth

+moves to cash register +looks at the cash register screen
27 ➔ MJ: yeah- uh +yeah +yeah +(0.4) +uh:::

+GZ C + moves to counter
28 ➔ pay two: four+teen↑ +you pay two:: (0.3) thir-ty four.
29 (0.8)
MJ & C: mutual gaze

+GZ notice
30 ➔ C: thirty +four¿

+two fingers
31 ➔ MJ: +yeah +twenty centu charge.
C: +GZ notice
32 ➔ (0.4)
C: Slightly moves to right/GZ notice

+GZ notice +GZ MJ & frown/smiley +pick up beer
33 ➔ C: +uh:ah (0.6) +>that's okay. +°that's o[kay°
34 MJ: [ah ha ha ha

+moves back
35 ➔ C: <[°that's alright°] +[that's alright]
36 MJ: [$yeah : : $] [heh heh heh]

Note. This excerpt has been analyzed in Section 7.4 (Excerpt 7.3).

In line 15 Minji checks and announces the total amount due (line 18). The customer does not respond but continues to look down and remain still, lines 16-19. And then he requests confirmation of the minimum for card transactions ("need ten dollars yea↑ for use ↓ca:rd," line 21). The design of the question indicates the customer's expectation that there is a $10 minimum. In line 21, Minji does not make a type-conforming response, that is, either confirmation or disconfirmation for the yes-no question. Instead, based on her construal of the design of the confirmation request, she makes a non-type-conforming response, which indicates she sees a problem in the customer's assumption about the store policy (Lee, 2012; Raymond, 2003). This seems because the customer's question reflects his assumption that card transactions cannot be made if the total purchase is less than the $10 minimum. This analysis is corroborated by the preemptive correction (line 21). The correction format is virtually identical to the corrections shown in the previous analyses in section 7.4.1 (see Table 7.1).

Minji formats the correction by using a Korean stance marker: "↑*m*:↓" with rising and falling intonation (line 21). This turn-initial device, "(u)m," can be used as an agreement token or a disaffiliate marker to express dissatisfaction or worry (Ahn, 2012). The correction itself includes a contrast against the customer's assumption indicated by the stress on use ("you can ↑u:su↓") and of a near repeat with an EPCF ("olly ↑twenny °cent charge.°").

The customer, however, does not grasp the import of the correction (line 20) and refers to the entire prior turn as the trouble source through the open-class repair initiation: "what'yu mean like-" (line 25), specifically requesting a reformulation of the prior turn. Minji treats this OI as an indication of a calculation problem. Thus she proceeds to demonstrate the steps of the calculation

of the total with the transaction fee added in: “pay two: fourteen you pay two:: (0.3) thir-ty four.” (line 28). This repair solution reveals Minji’s misunderstanding, which eventually led the customer to abandon the transaction (line 33).

Three months after the above service encounter, Minji again proactively addresses the customer’s assumption about the store policy at Teru’s Mart. (The excerpt below was recorded in October 2014, as part of the final recording.) The excerpt begins when Minji asks customer 3 (C3) (discussed in Excerpt 7.4) to validate the transaction by entering his PIN (lines 1-2) in the POS terminal. While C3 is entering his PIN, another customer (C1) asks about the acceptability of a debit card as a payment method (line 3), to which Minji responds with a confirmation (line 5).

[Excerpt 7.8, case 25a, Recording #45, 10/10/14]

```
01     MJ:   pleasu- (0.6) enter pin number¿
02           (1.5)
             C3: enters pin
                                                  +card swiping gesture
03     C1:   +’cuse me=y’guys take ↑+debit↓
       MJ:   +GZ credit card machine               +GZ C1
04           (0.7)

             +nods
05     MJ:   +YEAH.

06           (0.8)
             MJ: nods

07 ➔   C1:   +↓what ↑minimum you gotta +pay¿ (.) spe[nd too mu-
       MJ:   +GZ C1                    +GZ notice
                                                  +GZ/PT notice (F1)
08 ➔   MJ:                                        [+ye : ah : :-
                +GZ/PT notice
                                    +GZ C1 +RH downward (F2) +GZ/PT notice (F3)
09 ➔         (.) +uh: minimum ten bu:t +you +can      +bu::y↑
```

Frame 1.

Frame 2.

Frame 3.

+PT/GZ notice +GZ C1

10 → +under:- olly +twenny centu charge.

11 → (2.3)

C1: silently looks at the notice

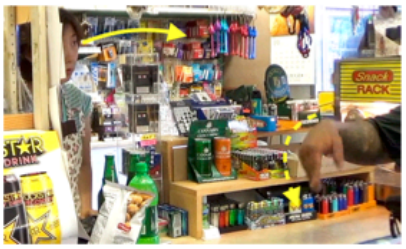
MJ: GZ C1

+RH down (F4) +PT notice (F5)

12 → C1: oh if it's +under gonna be +twenny [cents charge.]

+nods

13 → MJ: [+y: ea: h]



Frame 4.

Frame 5.

+nods

14 → >+yeah- yeah- yeah-<

C: +turns back and walks to the back

15 (0.4)

+walks to the back of the store

16 C1: °okay°

The customer (C1) seeks additional information about the policy for minimum card transactions through a wh-question: "↓What ↑minimum you gotta pay (.) spend too mu-" (line 7). Minji replies with the information, "minimum ten" (line 9), using the word *minimum*[20] rather than *limit*. This is the first and only case in which she uses the conventional vocabulary "minimum" to inform the customer of the store's payment policy.

After answering the customer with the type-conforming response ("minimum ten" in line 9), Minji immediately proceeds to preempt the customer's potential misunderstanding of her answer that card transactions are not allowed below the minimum. Minji formats the preemptive correction in a similar way she did in Excerpts 5.10, 6.7 and 7.7. The format of the preemptive correction (lines 9-10) includes: (1) a contrastive to the customer's potential misinterpretation of the preceding TCU ("bu:t you can bu::y under:-") coupled with the downward vertical hand

[20] According to Oxford English Dictionary, minimum means "The smallest amount or quantity that is possible, usual, attainable, allowable."

movement (Frame 2) that appears to mean "under"; and (2) a formulation of the transaction fee with an EPCF: "olly twenny centu charge," while pointing at the notice at the counter (lines 9-10). This correction demonstrates Minji's knowledge of the term "minimum," which sets the low boundary for card transactions. Thus, the use of "minimum" in formulating the informing in this excerpt cannot be considered an instance of vocabulary acquisition. Rather, its use in Minji's correction exemplifies the way interactants utilize what C. Goodwin (2013) called a "public substrate," an "immediately present semiotic landscape with quite diverse resources that has been given its current shape through the transformative sequences of action that culminate, at this moment, in the current action" (p. 11). Goodwin explained how actors build action by drawing on resources from a preceding action. Similarly, Minji utilizes the word "minimum" to form a response in the question-and-answer sequence (lines 7-9); but she treats "minimum" as a potential trouble source.

Minji begins to look at the notice while C1 asks his information-seeking question (line 7). Even as she replies, she continues to look at the notice, while also pointing, thus visibly incorporating the notice as part of her response (Frame 1). Instead of responding to Minji, the customer stands still for 2.3 seconds, staring at the notice (line 11). His continuing focus on the notice suggests that he is reading its text, although it is not possible to identify the onset of C1's reading because he stands outside of the frame and C3 is standing between the camera and C1.

The customer's lengthy focus on the posted notice, which impedes the progress of the informing sequence, suggests the customer is having some trouble understanding Minji's responses in lines 9-10. This is evidenced by his actions following the 2.3-second silence (line 11). He displays *oh*-prefaced candidate understanding (line 12). He points to the notice (Frame 5) as the epistemic grounds for the display of candidate understanding (line 12). Since the store

policy falls into Minji's epistemic domain, the display of the understanding in the declarative format is treated as a request for confirmation (Heritage, 2012a; van Dijk & Heritage, 2013), in turn corroborated by Minji's emphatic confirmation in overlap (lines 13-14).

The turn that houses the confirmation request (line 12) is formatted as a complex sentence beginning with the conjunction "if" and a main clause. Such a structure, according to the grammar of Pidgin English (or Hawai'i Creole English, Sakoda & Siegel, 2003), allows for emphasis on the conditional clause. The proterm "it" in the conditional clause shows that the request for confirmation is tied to Minji's response in lines 9-10 (Sacks, 1992a). The customer also indicates what needs to be confirmed by Minji by enunciating "under" (line 12) coupled with a downward hand movement (Frame 4), which represents the meaning of "under." Taken together, the request locates the trouble source in Minji's informing practice in the second position, and shows that only after he read the notice, could the customer display a candidate understanding of Minji's preemptive correction (lines 9-10) as a relevant response to the information-seeking question (line 7).

To summarize this section, the results described how Minji preemptively corrects the customers' mistaken assumptions about the store policy (Excerpt 7.7) or misunderstanding of the informing turn (Excerpt 7.8). Minji uses strikingly similar linguistic resources when she corrects the customers' (potential) misunderstanding of the store policy, as can be seen in Table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2 *Turn constructional units for correction*

Case	Excerpt	Date (mm/dd/yy)	Turn Constructional Units			
5	7.5	03/29/13	*ai*- (0.3)	you can ↑u:su↓=yeah	(0.3)	olly twenny cents char-
15	7.7	06/14/14	yu- *ai*-	you can ↑u:su↓		olly twenny centu charge.
17b	7.8	07/11/14	↑*m*:↓	↑you can ↑u:su↓		olly ↑twenny °cent charge.°
24	7.4	10/10/14	*a*- ↑*ai*-	°y°		o:lly twenny centu charge
25	7.9	10/10/14	ye:ah:: (.) uh: minimum ten	bu:t you can bu::y↑	under:-	olly twenny centu charge.

The table above shows that Minji formats her corrections using the same action components to correct customers' (potential) misunderstandings, where she uses an almost identical set of linguistic resources: (1) Korean exclamations,"*ai*" or "*m*" for problematizing the prior turn; (2) contrastives formulated in the *you-can-verb* pattern (e.g., "you can use" or "you can buy") for correction; and (3) the use of the truncated fixed expression and the ECPF, "olly twenny centu charge" to indicate and formulate the transaction fee as a small amount.

Use of these fixed expressions for (preemptive) correction often became a cause of trouble for the customers as the formats of the corrections do not bear on the import of the OIs (e.g., Excerpts 7.5 and 7.7), address the trouble source turn (Excerpt 7.6), or respond to the requests for information in a recognizably relevant manner (Excerpt 7.8). Without precisely identifying the import of the prior turns, Minji treated the prior turns as exhibiting misunderstanding of the informing turn or misassumption of the store policy and attempted to correct through the routinized repair and correction solutions. All customers relied on the notice as the repair solutions and resolved the trouble sources while the customer in Excerpt 7.7 failed to understand Minji's response and correction, thus eventually abandoning the transaction. But Minji treated the abandonment as a range of relevant second-pair parts in the customer-initiated informing sequence.

7.5 Summary and Discussion

This chapter focused on the ways in which the customers initiated repair and Minji conducted repair and (preemptive) correction during the repair activities, demonstrating how Minji analyzed the customers' (potential) trouble sources during the informing sequences. The analysis showed that Minji did not treat her informing practice as a source of trouble although numerous OIs indicated her informing practice as repairable. This was primarily because Minji

did not precisely identify the trouble sources in such a way that OIs indicated. But instead, she construed the sources of trouble as the customers reading skills in English (Excerpts 7.1 and 7.2) or an acceptability and calculation problem (Excerpts 7.3 and 7.4). Also, it was due to that Minji misunderstood the customers' OIs (Excerpts 7.5 and 7.7) or correctly understood customers' (potentially) misunderstanding about the informing turn or the store policy but addressed them in an ineffective way (Excerpts 7.6 and 7.8).

EM/CA views understanding as an achievement in and through locally produced practices (Garfinkel, 1967; Schegloff, 1988). Initiating an action in a recognizable manner or producing a relevant next action through socially shared practices is the core of interactional competence (Wong & Waring, 2010). Recognizing the projected course of actions in interaction also constitutes interactional competence as it depends on the "co-actors' abilities to induce or infer their sense" (Koschmann et al., 2007, p. 137) from what is being performed or achieved locally in the circumstances of their production.

In this sense, CA views L2 competence not only as a learning object but also "as an enabling condition" (Y.-A. Lee, 2006, p. 368) for interaction including doing L2 learning. Repair is an essential competence for understanding during interaction. Lee illustrated the participants' communicative competence displayed in their conduct of a repair activity in the classroom context. Lee concluded that the OI sequence reveals "the communicative competence of all parties, particularly the students' analytic competence to recognize problems, locate, and analyze their object, and repair them in the course of interaction" (p. 361).

Repair activities, as discussed earlier, may constitute one locus of L2 learning because OIs and other-repairs "make available the participants' monitoring, awareness and orientation to the ongoing linguistic and communicative structures in the sequences of talk" (Hellermann, 2011, p.

150). L2 users indicate and resolve trouble during repair activities in which L2 users may orient to doing learning L2 (Brouwer, 2003, 2004; Hauser, 2013b, 2013c; Hosoda, 2006; Kasper, 2004; Kasper & Burch, 2016; Lilja, 2014; Markee, 2008; Mori, 2004). Hauser (2013c) specifically described two learning opportunities available in and through repair activities by discussing the change occurred in his participant's productive use of "I don't know":

> "Much of this change depended on opportunities to repeat something said by Eric (the L1 interlocutor, SK). Eric's use of "don't" with pronouns other than "I" and with verbs other than "know" provided particular affordances, in the sense used by Eskildsen (2012), within the interaction for Nori to also use, through repetition, "don't" with pronouns other than "I" and verbs other than "know." In addition, the organization of interaction provides opportunities to perform repair, with these being a structurally-based preference for self-initiation of repair—in the absence of an interruption to initiate repair on another's talk. (p. 491)

Repair practices are universal and found across different languages, but they are also language-specific because repair and syntax are interdependent (B. Fox, Hayashi, & Jasperson, 1996). This suggests that L2 users need to learn how to conduct repair and recalibrate their repair practices to participate in L2 conversations. Hellermann (2011); Hellermann and Cole (2009) and Pekarek Doehler and Berger (2015) provide empirical evidence of the development of repair practices. With a focus on a student's self-initiated self-repair practices over an eighteen-month period, Hellermann (2009) demonstrated that the students oriented to lexical-grammatical forms (pronouns) in early terms and English syntactic constituent structure (predicate-verb phrases) in later terms. Based on observation of two students during language-learning tasks over five terms (50 weeks in total), Hellermann (2011) also described changes in the participants' orientations to

what is repairable: grammatical structures such as lexical items and pronunciation in early terms and action projection in the fifth term. These studies hint at the ability to recognize and monitor linguistic structures and sequential knowledge as a condition for initiating and completing repairs.

The findings in this chapter offer supportive evidence of the role of IC for successful repair activities. The analyses demonstrate how Minji misjudged the customers' oral reading attempts as indications of weak literacy skills in English; or she misunderstood the trouble sources as an acceptability problem, a calculation problem, or mistaken assumptions about the store policy. Throughout the analysis, I showed how Minji routinized repair solutions (e.g., the use of an ECPF *only* [Pomerantz, 1986], an assessment of the transaction fee, foreigner talk, or correction practices such as *you can use* or *buy*). Most of the time, these routinized solutions were not precisely relevant to the work of OIs. Consequently, Minji's self-repairs and corrections themselves did not resolve the customers' trouble or sometimes became a trouble source for the customers during the informing sequence.

The analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates that successful repair activities require the ability to: (a) identify trouble sources as indicated by repair initiators or foreshadowed by delays and (b) format repair solutions in a recognizable way. The findings suggest that Minji's limited IC, in terms of conducting repair and correction, contributed to her lack of noticing of the idiosyncratic fixed expressions as a trouble source in the repeated repair activities that occurred during the routine informing sequences over the 30-month period.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Drawing on the longitudinal CA-SLA methodology, this study examined an adult L2 English user's stable use of idiosyncratic fixed expressions used for informing customers of her store's card-payment policy in service encounters over a 30-month period. The study demonstrated the extended stability of the embodied idiosyncratic fixed expressions in terms of their composition and sequential positions used in the specific component of the overall sequential organization of service encounter. The analysis elucidated the stabilization of the idiosyncratic fixed expressions as experiential and embodied processes that Minji and her customers co-constructed in their everyday life world in and through their interactional competence.

In this final chapter, I discuss some of the implications of this study in relation to the current understanding of the learning of formulaic expressions and stabilization of L2 competence. I present additional implications for the emerging body of CA-SLA research on learning in the wild (Wagner, 2015; Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2016). I offer practical suggestions for the novice adult L2 users in the wild and and for L2 instruction in the classroom. Then, I present future directions for research on stabilization of idiosyncratic fixed expressions in the wild. I begin by summarizing the major findings of the previous four analytic chapters.

8.1 Summary of the Findings

Chapter 4 situated Teru's Mart in its surrounding sociolinguistic context and described how the routine informing sequence was constructed during the payment activity in the service encounters. Minji used a few idiosyncratic fixed expressions to inform the customers of the store's card-payment policy, and her practice for the informing sequence was configured

according to the two different sequential positions and the customers' epistemic status about the store policy. The analysis provided details of the composition and placement of the idiosyncratic fixed expressions in sequential contexts, demonstrating the long-term stability of Minji's practice. In addition, the findings illuminated the unequal distribution of the repair activities during the informing sequences relative to customers' epistemic statuses about the store policy, showing that all other-initiated repair activities occurred during the informing sequences with either partially knowing customers or unknowing customers. The asymmetrical distribution appears to suggest that the customers' knowledge about the store policy significantly contributed to the intelligibility of Minji's practice.

Chapter 5 examined how the customers utilized their knowledge of the store policy or Hawai'i's card-payment conventions in responding to Minji's informing action, demonstrating the customers' contributions to the successful achievements of understanding in the routine informing sequences. Evidence showed how customers accepted the transaction fee without a gap after, or in overlap with, the informing turn composed of either truncated or full multi-unit expressions. The chapter accounted for the structure of understanding in the informing sequences based on the sequential and operative nature of understanding and participants' orientations to the progressivity of the informing sequence. The customers repeatedly responded to Minji's informing actions with relevant next actions. These relevant next actions ratified the intelligibility of Minji's informing practice and thus confirmed the use of the idiosyncratic fixed expressions as socially shared L2 English use. From a longitudinal perspective, the findings show how Minji continued using the idiosyncratic fixed expressions based on the evidence of the customers repeated relevant next actions.

Chapter 6 described how Minji and her customers co-constructed an embodied participation framework by utilizing the store policy sign posted at the check-out counter as a crucial resource during the informing sequences. Previous research reported on how textual materials facilitated both understanding and L2 learning (Greer, 2017; Hauser, 2014; Hwang, 2009; Kääntä et al., 2016; Kasper & Burch, 2016; Kunitz, 2015; Markee, 2008, 2011; Markee & Kunitz, 2013; Mori, 2004; Seo, 2011). This chapter extends those findings by showing how Minji and her customers preempted repair activities by using the notice as a meaningful textual resource for the action formation and ascription in the informing sequences. Although the customers' display of trouble in recognizing Minji's truncated or fixed multi-unit expressions, they did not other-initiate repair. Instead, the customers read the notice and resolved their interactional trouble without involving other-initiated repair sequences. Chapter 6 concluded that the customers' reading after Minji's informing turn enabled them to minimize interfering with the progress of the informing sequences because the customers did not other-initiate repair that would focalize Minji's practice. While the reading after the informing turn efficiently managed the customers' trouble and facilitated the progressivity of the informing sequences, it obstructed L2 learning opportunities that the structural organization of other-initiated repair activities may offer (e.g., Hauser, 2013b; 2013c; Nguyen, 2011; Markee, 2008; for the role of repair activities in learning relevant motions and positions for physical therapy exercises see Martin & Sahlström, 2010). These findings illuminate the reflexive relationship between the relevant next action by the customers without involving in OIs and the extended stability of Minji's informing practice.

Chapter 7 focused on repair activities occurring during the informing sequences. Throughout the recurrent repair activities, Minji misanalyzed the work of OIs and attempted self-repair using a routinized set of repair solutions that did not precisely address the trouble

sources in such a way that the OIs indicated. In addition, Minji sometimes treated the customers' OIs or requests for the information about the store policy as in need of (preemptive) correction. She thus provided (preemptive) correction using a set of fixed expressions (e.g., *you-can-verb* pattern) and routinized repair solutions. These correction formats and routinized repair solutions were insufficiently context-shaped, and so often did not restore understanding during the ongoing repair activities or became the cause of trouble in the informing sequences. As a result, Minji was not orienting to the use of idiosyncratic fixed expressions as repairable, although the organization of repair activities provided the trouble-source speaker with structural opportunities to monitor, recognize, and resolves trouble sources. The findings show that Minji's limited repair competence does not allow for effective participation in the repair activities. The findings thus demonstrate the critical role of interactional competence in L2 learning.

8.2 Contributions

This study explored the stabilization of idiosyncratic fixed expressions used in service encounters, which falls at the intersection of three research strands: the learning of formulaic language, stabilization of L2 competence, and L2 learning in the wild. Following are suggested implications of the findings in relation to these research strands.

8.2.1 Development of fixed expressions

In Section 2.3, I reviewed how three different perspectives have approached formulaic language and its role in L2 development. Rooted in fundamental differences in concepts of what language itself is, these approaches hold sharply opposing views. On the one hand, there are interlanguage (pragmatics) perspectives (Bardovi-Harilg, 2006; Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer, 2016) and dual processing perspectives (Wray, 2002). On the other hand, there are several usage-based perspectives (e.g., N.C. Ellis, 2002; Eskildsen, 2009; Hauser, 2013c) examined the learning of

formulaic expressions in L2. The arguments relating to L2 learning boil down to what counts as development, that is, rule-based (Bardovi-Harlig, 2006; Bardovi-Harlig & Stringer, 2016; Wray, 2002) versus exemplar-based productivity (Eskildsen, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2015; Hauser, 2013c).

Treating language as a resource for action, this study showed how Minji used three classes of fixed expressions as resources for producing the informing actions during payment activities. These included the fixed multi-unit expression and its truncated versions, and the *you-can-verb* pattern. Two observations can be made regarding the development of the fixed expressions. First, Minji was required to use different action formats to construct the informing sequences in the two sequential positions (i.e., as an initiating action or responding action) and with customers who are assumed to have different epistemic statuses about the store policy (i.e., knowing, partially knowing, and unknowing of the store policy). The analysis showed how Minji used a set of the embodied fixed expressions for informing customers with three different types of epistemic statuses toward the store policy in the two different sequential positions. Also, a class of fixed expressions (i.e., the *you-can-verb* pattern) was used to correct the customers' misunderstanding of Minji's informing action or misassumptions about the store policy. The use of the fixed expressions thus suggests that the development of the fixed expressions has occurred during the first-year of her business (i.e., prior to the beginning of the data collection for this study) and is deeply intertwined into the specifics of the recurring informing sequences in terms of the sequential positions of the action and the customers' knowledge status. As has been suggested in the analysis, customers' repeated next relevant actions—that is, acceptance of the transaction fee, further purchases, or abandonment of the transaction—ratified the intelligibility of Minji's embodied informing practice, which in turn gave rise to Minji's continuing use of the practice, or stabilization of the embodied practice.

The second observation is what Ellis (2002) called "low-scope patterns" (p. 143) which refers to item-based productivity as an indicator of L2 development in the constructionist usage-based linguistics perspective (see also Eskildsen, 2009). The *you-can-verb* pattern was observable in Minji's L2 English use outside of the informing sequence while the fixed multi-unit expression and truncated fixed expressions were used only locally within the informing sequences in two different sequential positions; however, Minji appears to have analyzed the fixed expression into its components. Evidence is found in Minji's use of *limit* in the truncated fixed expressions (i.e., "ten limit" or "we limit ten"). While *limit* is used as a verb in the full fixed multi-unit expression, *limit* in one type of truncated expressions ("ten limit") was used as a noun.

8.2.2 A conversation-analytic account for stabilization

As reviewed in Section 2.4, these two largely different perspectives on linguistic knowledge also hold opposing views of idiosyncratic FEs. In the interlanguage (pragmatics) and the dual-processing perspectives, researchers distinguish between formulas and grammar, contending that idiosyncratic FEs are the product of stabilized interlanguage grammar. In contrast, the constructionist usage-based linguistics perspective does not posit such a distinction. Instead, language is understood as consisting of linguistic resources in varying degrees of specificity and complexity. From this perspective, any use of idiosyncratic FEs is considered to result from its usefulness among the available linguistic resources for producing a situated action which leads to the entrenchment of that particular idiosyncratic FE as part of an action inventory. This entrenchment in turn inhibits learning of another equivalent, possibly more targetlike, expression (Eskildsen, 2012; Hauser, 2013c).

Studies on fossilization and naturalistic SLA converge on the construct of stabilization in L2 competence. As discussed in Sections 2.4 and 2.5, psycholinguistically motivated SLA research has attributed L2 stabilization to linguistic-cognitive dimensions: (1) input-related factors—such as input saliency, input frequency, and input robustness; (2) individual cognition-related factors such as input sensitivity, attention, processing constraints, and lack of negative feedback; and (3) L1 transfer (L1 markedness). Interlanguage pragmatics research focusing on the stabilization of speech acts and related pragmalingusitic competence offered a similar conclusion. For example, Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993, 1996) explained the lack of development of speech acts such as initiating suggestions with mitigators in academic advising sessions as based on a lack of observable models and linguistic input. Within these linguistic-cognitive perspectives on SLA, stabilization of L2 competence is understood as an individual's mental process based on input-related factors, cognition, and L2 users' L1s.

Studies within socially oriented perspectives have attempted to incorporate the complexities implicated in L2 learning processes understood as situated in specific socio-interactional contexts, explaining the stabilization (or non-development) of L2 competence based on socio-psychological factors such as (1) affordances, or lack thereof, which the co-participants in interaction provide L2 users (e.g., Norton, 2013); (2) L2 users' investment in L2 learning as influenced by environmental factors including opportunities to use an L2 (Block, 2006), L2 users' desired self-images and values (i.e., subjectivity in Siegal, 1996), or personal dispositions and communication style (Perdue & Klein, 1992). While these studies attempted to account for the stabilization of L2 competence by examining the socio-psychological complexities implicated in L2 learning, only a few studies have closely studied idiosyncratic L2 use in situ.

Despite a burgeoning body of research from several usage-based perspectives, there is a paucity of studies focusing on stabilization of L2 competence. Cognitive/usage-based research also did not pay attention to situated social interaction except for Eskildsen and his colleagues' work (e.g., Eskildsen, 2012, Eskildsen, Cardierno, & Li, 2015). There are only two studies from usage-based perspectives that have investigated the stability of idiosyncratic fixed expressions (e.g., "you no write" and the *no(t)-X*-pattern) based on longitudinal conversational data (Eskildsen, 2012; Hauser, 2013c). These studies highlighted the relatively transparent intelligibility of idiosyncratic linguistic resources for intended actions. Eskildsen, in particular, attributed the stability of the use of the idiosyncratic fixed expressions to competing linguistic resources capable of performing coherent communicative functions, while Hauser conjectured that the non-development of another potential formulaic expression ("I can't speak English) is because of the usefulness of "I don't know." Thus, both Eskildsen and Hauser argued that communicative success using idiosyncratic fixed expressions discourages L2 users from learning new and possibly more conventional or targetlike fixed expressions (cf. Perdue, 1993a, 1993b). These studies focused on a classroom context (Eskildsen, 2012) or conversations-for-learning context (Hauser, 2013c). No studies from a usage-based perspective have looked at stabilization in the wild, although early naturalistic SLA research reported stabilization of L2 competence as a readily observable phenomenon.

This study fills these gaps by shedding new light on the stabilization of idiosyncratic fixed expressions in the wild as embodied, sequential (i.e., local), and experiential (i.e., longitudinal) phenomena and, further, are co-constructed in and through participants' interactional competence. The stabilization processes are interconnected with co-participants' contributions based on: (1) their knowledge about Teru's Mart's payment policy or Hawai‘i

conventions for card use in service encounters (Chapter 5); and (2) the customers' orientation to the information displayed on the posted notice (Chapter 6). The analysis further showed how two-way work carried out by the customers' repeated demonstration of understanding following the informing turn contributed to the stabilization of Minji's fixed expressions. The two-way work referenced in this study included advancing the sequential project, while at the same time ratifying the intelligibility of the prior turns composed of idiosyncratic fixed expressions in the first or second position (Chapters 4 through 7). These findings may constitute an important contribution to research on learning in the wild by illuminating how the natural ecology of L2 use—e.g., co-participants' epistemic status and textual objects in the environment—is interlaced with the stabilization of idiosyncratic fixed expressions.

8.2.3 Repair competence as a prerequisite for L2 learning in the wild

Another key finding of this study relates to the relationship between interactional competence (IC) and L2 learning including the learning of FEs in the wild. L2 competence has long been considered a goal for L2 users and an objective (or outcome) of L2 instruction. Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1993, 1996) focused on the development of pragmatic competence as an illustration of this perspective. They examined international graduate students' pragmatic competence in academic advising sessions, arguing that the students could not learn to produce appropriate speech acts (e.g., initiating suggestions with mitigators and the required linguistic resources) as a student interacting with advisors in academic advising sessions. They attributed the lack of development to a lack of observable models and to the fact that the graduate students were not exposed to appropriate linguistic resources, such as the use of mitigators and non-use of aggravators.

In contrast, CA-SLA research has shown that interactional competence (IC) is a condition for L2 learning because L2 users participate in social activities that include L2 learning activities in and through their IC. Thus, CA researchers argue for a reflexive relationship between IC as an object as well as a condition for learning (Kasper & Ross, 2002; Lee, 2006; Markee & Kasper, 2004). Kasper and Wagner (2014) elaborate such a view, arguing that "[n]o learning mechanism separate from or in addition to the sense-making procedures and interactional competencies through which social members, including very young children, manage their participation in social life" (p. 194). While previous CA-SLA research has demonstrated how participants' IC is fundamental to conducting L2 learning activities (e.g., Y. Lee, 2006), the results of this study provide evidence for the role of IC in L2 stabilization by demonstrating how limited IC is consequential for inhibiting L2 learning opportunities during repair activities.

As discussed in Chapter 7, repair practices are part of the core interactional competence for maintenance and restoration of understanding when some trouble arises in interaction. When repair is initiated, the ongoing interactional business is put on hold until the trouble is resolved or abandoned. In other-initiated repair sequences, the repair initiator focalizes some trouble in which the trouble-source speaker may meet an opportunity to identify and resolve the trouble source. In a rare case, Hauser (2010) showed how the trouble recipient(s) who claims more expertise in the target language may provide an exposed correction to the trouble speaker even after repair sequence is terminated in the context of conversation-for-learning.

To successfully restore understanding in OI activities, the trouble-source speaker has to be able to recognize the work of OIs. The findings showed that Minji does not precisely interpret the work of OIs in such a way that the OIs indicate but still attempts to complete repair or provide correction by using a set of routinized solutions or correction formats that often are not

precisely relevant to the OIs. Spontaneous L2 learning activities in the wild presuppose intersubjectivity (e.g., Brouwer, 2003, 2004, Y. Kim, 2012). In this sense, language learning activities occur in a "topically redundant" manner (Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2016, p. 18). Thus, competent repair practices used to safeguard intersubjectivity can be considered a prerequisite for L2 learning in the wild.

8.3 Practical Implications

8.3.1 For learning in the wild

The findings generated by SLA research have been mostly concerned with instructed SLA. Naturalistic SLA research has contributed to the theory of second language learning (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993, 1996; Butterworth & Hatch, 1978; Huebner, 1984; Perdue, 1993; Sato, 1990; Schumann, 1978; Schmidt, 1983; Schmidt & Frota, 1986; Wode, 1978) and, few SLA studies have yielded meaningful advice for L2 users for improving their interactional practices in L2 in the wild. One reason for the lack of practical solutions seems to be that most SLA research aims to contribute to instructed SLA. Consequently, SLA research has become less beneficial to the L2 users in the wild despite the large number of L2 users who cannot afford L2 instruction for various reasons (e.g., financial or time constraints).

This study offers two practical recommendations for novice adult L2 users in the wild like Minji who use English for day-to-day service encounters. The general intent of these suggestions is to help L2-speaking service providers construct brief and spontaneous L2 learning spaces in their social activities in situ without undermining their professional identities in their workplaces (cf. Wagner, 2015). First, I would suggest novice L2 users use confirmation requests in the form of a candidate understanding (i.e., the strongest one in terms of power) to initiate

repair on the open-class OIs or of delays (i.e., the strongest OI format) occurring after first pair part rather than the L2 user uses a set of routinized resources.

In the analysis I showed that Minji often misconstrued the open-class repair initiators and delays occurring after the informing turn as displaying a disaffiliative stance toward the transaction fee (e.g., Excerpts 7.1, 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4). It is not surprising that novice L2 users do not precisely understand the interactional import of those resources because OCRIs do not specify the nature of the trouble source in the prior turn, and thus the repair completion heavily depends on the trouble-source speaker's analytic competence to inspect the trouble source. Also, delays and open-class repair initiators are a common feature of dispreference markers (Drew, 1997; Pomerantz, 1984). In this regard, delays and OIs initiated by open-class repair initiators may be inherently challenging for novice L2 users to grasp their context-sensitive interactional import.

By making relevant a confirmation through the strongest format of OI, the novice L2 user could construct a space in which he or she could verify their hearing of the OCRIs in the prior turn or the delay after the first pair part while minimizing the danger of being treated as a less competent worker. Repeated testing and verification of the L2 user's candidate understanding of OCRIs or delays after first pair parts could help the L2 user better understand the context-shaping work of those resources over time.

As a second recommendation, the L2 user in the wild should diversify fixed expressions they use for routine practices. Wootton (1997) showed how preceding sequential contexts motivated Amy, a one-year-old L1 English user, to acquire an array of linguistic resources for making various formats of requests over 12 months. Consistent with Wootton's findings, Minji used the *you-can-verb* pattern in addition to the fixed multi-unit expression or their truncated

versions in the second position in the informing sequences in order to address the customers' misunderstanding or misassumption. However, when Minji informed customers in the first position, she invariably used either the idiosyncratic multi-unit fixed expression or its truncated version, depending on the customers' epistemic statuses over the 30-month period unless Minji construed the customers' request for information about the store policy as in need of correction. In other words, the routine payment activity in which the informing sequence is embedded motivated Minji to develop only two types of fixed expressions for the informing practice in the first position as discussed in Section 8.2.1.

Minji's use of idiosyncratic fixed expressions is not an isolated case. In fact, substantial studies have shown that novice L2 users use a range of fixed expressions as ready-made action repertoires (e.g., Achiba, 2003; Eskildsen, 2011, 2012; Hauser, 2013c; Schmidt, 1983). Approaching implementation of the store's policy in different ways could help Minji diversify resources for actions, at the same time inhibiting stabilization of the first-position informing practice. This suggestion is consistent with the views of Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger (2011) who contended, "the development of L2 interactional competence can be understood in terms of the development of speakers' methods […] we see development in terms of the increased diversification and local efficacy of such methods" (p. 209). From the constructionist usage-based linguistics perspective, additional MWEs may lead the L2 users to develop more diverse constructions.

8.3.2 For learning in the classroom

Recently, there have been attempts to teach interactional competence in the classroom context (Barraja-Rohan, 2011; Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997; Betz & Huth, 2014; Huth, 2007, 2010, 2011; Huth & Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006; Wong & Waring, 2010). While most of the

suggestions have focused on raising awareness of conversational structures or intercultural pragmatic differences, or action sequences such as compliments or requests, very few studies addressed repair practices as in need of instruction (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard; Wong & Waring). The findings in this study suggest two instructional goals with respect to repair practices. As Wong and Waring suggested, it seems beneficial to teach L2 users how to produce third position repair with necessary resources such as reformulation markers, *I mean X* (p. 247). Also, it seems necessary to teach to produce self-repair in such a way that conforms to the design of the repair initiation (i.e., type-conforming response), because non-type conforming responses may be understood as treating the design of the prior action as problematic in some sense (see Excerpt 7.3). Lee (2012) noted that non-type conforming responses are done "'for cause' and exert agency over the terms of the question, thus resisting them" (p. 425).

The findings in this study revealed that it is challenging for novice L2 users to recognize the import of OCRIs because, as discussed earlier, they do not specify the trouble source thus requiring the L2 user's maximal ability to monitor and inspect the source of trouble for the trouble-source recipient. Also, OCRIs are used to convey a disaffiliative stance. While previous pedagogical suggestions regarding repair practices (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997; Wong & Waring, 2010) have focused on teaching how to produce repairs, the findings suggest the need of teaching how to recognize and respond to the import of open-class repair initiators (e.g., Excerpts 7.1, 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4).

One practical way to implement teaching how to recognize and respond to OCRIs is using the conversation analytic role-play method that Stokoe (2011, 2014) used to train professional communication workers such as mediators at community mediation services in UK. Based on recordings of naturally occurring conversations with simplified CA transcripts, teachers

can provide students opportunities to encounter open-class repair initiations that are concerned with problems of both acceptability and intersubjectivity in both L1 interactions and L2 interactions. Students' tasks are to locate and discuss trouble sources, to demonstrate how to resolve the trouble sources, and to compare their solutions to the real-life repair solutions in the recordings. Through these activities students could begin to learn how to analyze and resolve various types of OCRIs.

8.4 Directions for Future Study

CA-SLA research has demonstrated that L1 users tend not to topicalize L2 users' language expertise in their interactions (Brouwer, 2003; Brouwer, et al., 2004; Firth, 1996, 2009a; Hosoda, 2006; Kurhila, 2004; Lilja, 2014). Given that it is L2 users that often orient to language expertise and topicalize language beyond the ongoing interactional matters in the interaction (Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2016), the L2 user's initiative (Burch, 2016; Greer, 2017; Waring, 2011) appears to be critical to the creation of language learning opportunities in the wild. For example, in Excerpt 7.2 the customer initiated a small-talk sequence that exposed his misunderstanding of the store policy, but Minji refrained from participating in co-developing the small talk sequence, thus missing an opportunity to locate and resolve the repairable. An important focus for future research, therefore, is to investigate the relationship between the L2 user's observable initiatives and the stabilization processes. Three studies have illustrated such initiatives understood as the L2 users' participation in sequence construction, for example, (1) initiating a sequence, volunteering a response, and exploiting an assigned turn in the classroom context (Waring, 2011); (2) beginning or expanding a sequence where there is no conditional relevance calling for such action in casual conversations between an L1 Japanese husband and an

L2 Japanese-speaking wife (Burch, 2016); and (3) asking follow-up questions about respondents' answers in the study abroad context (Greer, 2017).

Informative future research might also investigate stabilization of fixed expressions observed in a linguistically more coherent L2 environment. In Hawai'i, Hawai'i Creole English (Pidgin English) and Hawai'i English are the everyday communicative medium (Drager, 2012). As reviewed in Chapter 4, the Pacific Mountain area, in particular, is especially linguistically diverse. Within these larger sociolinguistic environment environments, Minji sometimes treated certain customers as less skilled readers in English, leading her to attribute the trouble responsibility to customers. Co-participants' language competence in the Pacific Mountain area may contrast with speakers in a more monolingual area. For example, Serwe's (2015) study focused on Thai massage salons in Saarland, Germany, where about 12 percent of the one-million residents have immigrant backgrounds[21]. Stefan also observed that those Thai workers rely on few German resources to negotiate salon reservations with their German-speaking clients: e.g., the time-*nicht* (not) pattern (e.g., *zwölf uhr nicht*? [twelve o'clock not?], p. 161). Investigating stabilization in relation to customers' claims of expertise in the target language in such a monolingual area may offer a new understanding of the processes of stabilization.

Another fruitful research strategy may be to combine a constructionist usage-based linguistics analytic method with CA-SLA research. Eskildsen (e.g., 2011, 2012) initially conducted a type-token ratio analysis to demonstrate emerging or entrenched schemas over time, and used the CA methodology to understand the situated usages of fixed expressions as prototypical examples of those schemas. Taking a different tack, I suggest first conducting a

[21] Immigrants with under 5 years of residence in Germany number 19,390 (12 percent) out of 162,380 (cf.https://ergebnisse.zensus2011.de/?locale=en#StaticContent:10,BEV_10_20,m,table).

longitudinal CA-SLA analysis and identifying changing or stabilized fixed expressions used for a practice, then extracting the construction(s) or low-scope patterns underlying those fixed expressions and tracing development of the construction(s) or low-scope patterns in the corpus through type-token ratio analysis. These analytic steps could further elucidate the development or stabilization of action-construction pairings.

APPENDICES

Appendix A flyer, contact information for customers, and the protocol for verbal consent

Script for general customers

Hello, my name is Sangki Kim. I am a doctoral student at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.
I study how people use and learn their second language.

To study how people use and develop their second language, I record the shop owners' transactions with their customers in English in this convenient store once every other week from 4 pm to 5 pm until September 2015.
You happened to be one of the customers during these transactions recorded for the research.

Would you agree to be a participant for this research and give me your permission to use this video recording of the transaction of the shop owners and you?

Script for customers who are less proficient in English as a second language

Hello, my name is Sangki Kim. I am a student at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.
I study how people use and learn English.
To study this, I record the shop owners' English conversations with their customers once every other week from 4 pm to 5 pm until September 2015.
The conversation between the shop owner and you was recorded for this study. Is it okay to use this record for research purposes?

Flyer (contact information)

Contact Information regarding this Study

Researcher: Sangki Kim (PhD student)
Department of Second Language Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa

You can contact Sangki Kim skkim7@hawaii.edu/808-729-1595 if you have any questions regarding this study. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you can contact the UH Human Studies Program at 808.956.5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu.

Appendix B Consent form (the focal participants)

University of Hawai'i

Consent to Participate in Research

Study Title: *Development of Second Language Interactional Competence in Service Encounters*

Researcher's Statement: My name is Sangki Kim. I am a Ph.D. student at the University of Hawai'i (UH). This is a research project under Dr. Gabriele Kasper in the Department of Second Language Studies at the University of Hawai'i. The goal of my research project is to study how English speakers as a second language use and develop their English at service encounters. You are being invited to participate, because you use English as a second language to transact.

Activity and Time Commitment: If you decide to participate, your conversation during service encounters will be recorded both through a voice-recorder and one video-recorder set up in the convenience store once every other week from 4 pm to 5 pm for three years. The researcher will be present at the time of recording and will make observations by taking notes.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this project is completely voluntary. You can choose to not participate in this research. If you agree to participate, you can stop participation at any time without any disadvantage.

Benefits and Risks: There will be no direct benefit to you for participating in this research. The results of this project, however, may contribute to a better understanding of second language development for adult second language learners/users. We believe there is little or no risk to you in participating in this project. However, there is a potential risk for loss of privacy.

Confidentiality: All the records of this study will be kept private to the extent allowed by law. In any sort of report we make public we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. Video recordings from this will be archived at a portable hard drive in a secured place for use in future research. Research records will be kept in a locked file. When the study is presented in an academic conference, a small amount of video (approximately 30 seconds to 1 minute) may be presented. This video will be edited in a way, either by blurring the face or putting black covers on the video data, which will make unable to identify participants.

Questions: You can contact Sangki Kim skkim7@hawaii.edu/808-729-1595 if you have any questions about this study. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you can contact the UH Human Studies Program at 808.956.5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu.

If you agree to participate, please sign the second page and return it to the investigator. Please keep this page for your reference.

Statement of Consent: I have read the above information, and have received answers to any question I asked. I consent to take part in the study.

Please also check (√) if you agree with archiving and use of the video clip of your conversation in future research projects. The video data will be processed to ensure anonymity of participants.

☐ I consent to the use of video data for academic purposes.

Date _____

Your signature_____

Printed Name _____

Appendix C Transcription Symbols

Symbol	Function	Symbol	Function
==	latching of embodiment	(.)	micro pause less than 0.2 second
(.8)	timed pause in tenths of a second	[ ]	overlapping talk
=	latching of utterance segments	?	rising intonation contour
.	falling intonation contour	,	continuing or slightly rising intonation
¿	rising intonation contour stronger than ","	::	inflected rising intonation contour
::	elongation of the sound 0.1 second per one ":"	-	cut-off sound
↑ ↓	sharp rise or sharp fall in pitch	WOrd	especially loud voice
word	Stressed or emphasized voice	<word>	slower than surrounding talk
°word°	quiet or soft voice	ahehh	descriptive laughing sound
>word<	faster than surrounding talk	$word$	smiley voice
♩word♩	singing voice	˙hh	inhalation
~word~	pharyngealized voice	(xxx)	audible talk but not achievable sound
.hh	exhalation	GZ	gaze
(word)	Best possibility of the utterance by transcriber	+	onset of embodiment

Transcription system

	(Speaker's embodiment)	embodiment descriptions
Line	Speaker ID:	verbal transcription
	Recipient ID:	embodiment description

Frame 1. Frame 2. Frame 3.

		+GZ/PT notice (F1)	+GZ C			+GZ notice
31	MJ:	+yeah:-	+an:d +we limit	+te:n:↑ (0.4)		+and under:,
	C:	+GZ left (F1)	+GZ notice (F2)	+ opens eyes & mouth (F3)		+picks up cigarettes with the money on it

Note. I tried to use only one line for visual conduct per participant. At times however, I used two lines.

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